United Nations A/50/PV.92

General Assembly
Fiftieth Session

Official Records

92nd plenary meeting
Thursday, 14 December 1995, 3 p.m.
New York

President: Mr. Diogo Freitas do Amaral . . . . (Portugal)

In the absence of the President, Mr. Kittikhoun (Lao People's Democratic Republic) took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

Agenda item 46 *(continued)*

Assistance in mine clearance

Report of the Secretary-General (A/50/408)

Draft resolution (A/50/L.57)

Mr. Yang Lee (Republic of Korea): At the outset, my delegation would like to join previous speakers in expressing our appreciation to the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, which has made significant and valuable contributions regarding land-mine issues.

The land-mine issue has been an important and serious one for the international community. It is a problem that has devastating global humanitarian consequences.

Unlike other conventional weapons, land-mines represent a particular menace in a post-conflict environment. Long after the realization of peace, land-mines and other unexploded devices continue indiscriminately to injure, maim and kill. As a result, it is largely civilians rather than combatants who fall prey to these weapons. Moreover, the danger and uncertainty caused by mines delays the repatriation of refugees, hinders the conveyance of urgently needed humanitarian relief and obstructs the process of rebuilding the national economy. Indeed, land-mines portend a terrible legacy for fragile, war-torn societies by impeding all stages of socio-economic and political development. With more than 100 million mines spread through 62 countries, this problem has reached global proportions.

The seriousness of the global land-mine issue demands concerted action on the part of the international community. In accordance with resolution 49/215, the International Meeting on Mine Clearance was held at Geneva last July. This global Meeting, attended by almost 100 countries, including the Republic of Korea, and various international bodies and non-governmental organizations, offered a tremendous opportunity to mobilize international support for mine clearance. My delegation is greatly encouraged by the determination and commitment exhibited by many countries in respect of tackling this problem, in the spirit of international cooperation, during the International Meeting on Mine Clearance. In addition to generating substantial financial support for United Nations mine-clearing activities, this Meeting was invaluable in raising international awareness of land-mine issues and instrumental in further enhancing international technical cooperation in this regard.

My delegation wishes to express its deep concern that the number of mines being laid each year far surpasses that of mines cleared within this time-frame. According to the report of the Secretary-General contained in document A/50/408, during the past year, approximately 100,000 land-mines were removed, while

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more than 2 million were newly laid. These disturbing figures clearly indicate that de-mining alone is not the answer to this serious problem. A more comprehensive, preventive approach must be formulated.

First and foremost, it is essential that limits be placed upon the proliferation of anti-personnel mines, thereby reducing the possibility of irresponsible access to these lethal weapons. One significant initiative on the part of the international community has been to implement a moratorium on the export of anti-personnel mines. Since most of those countries strewn with land-mines do not actually manufacture them, these measures will greatly alleviate the human loss and economic suffering inflicted by land-mines.

On 28 September of this year, Mr. Gong Ro-Myung, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, in his statement to the General Assembly at its fiftieth session, announced our Government's decision to adopt an extendible one-year moratorium, underlining the Republic of Korea's commitment to the resolution of this serious issue by its joining the increasing number of countries implementing national moratoriums on the export of anti-personnel land-mines.

While my country is not yet a party to the 1980 Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons, we have shown a keen interest in the international effort to strengthen Protocol II of the Convention, and, in this regard, we hope that resumed sessions of the Review Conference will bring about meaningful results.

The United Nations has played an indispensable role in the field of assistance in land-mine clearance. My delegation commends the Organization for its efforts and activities undertaken in this field and for its ongoing resolve to enhance the effectiveness of mine-clearing programmes. My Government is of the view that various channels of mine-clearance assistance, whether through bilateral or regional arrangements, should be kept open. Having said this, however, we are firmly convinced that the coordinating role of the United Nations in such efforts should be strengthened in order to avoid the inefficient allocation of resources.

My Government also endorses the United Nations Voluntary Trust Fund for Assistance in Mine Clearance, established last year by the General Assembly in accordance with its resolution 48/7. In this regard, I am very pleased to announce my Government's decision to make a voluntary contribution of $100,000 to the Trust Fund.

Finally, my delegation, as one of the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/50/L.57, on assistance in mine clearance, would like to express its sincere hope that the draft resolution will be adopted without a vote.

Mr. Pine (New Zealand): New Zealand wants to work to eliminate anti-personnel land-mines entirely from the world's armouries. That goal was stated from this rostrum by the New Zealand Foreign Minister during his statement in the general debate. I want to reiterate it today.

Consistent with that position, New Zealand attended the first Review Conference of the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons, in September, ready to support an international consensus to eliminate anti-personnel land-mines immediately. Given that this — our preferred position — was, unfortunately, not in prospect, we participated in the review process with a number of clear objectives aimed at securing the strongest possible measures to control land-mines.

These objectives included an effective and streamlined verification and compliance regime, including fact-finding; restrictions on imports and exports of anti-personnel mines, particularly to non-parties and non-State entities; extension of the provisions of the Convention to cover internal conflicts as well as international ones — it is a sad fact that most of the problems associated with land-mines have resulted from conflicts within, and not between, States; prohibition of non-detectable mines and those designed to be triggered by mine-detection equipment; a ban on long-lived land-mines; and our proposal for more frequent review conferences.

Regrettably, it proved impossible to adopt even such interim steps as these. More work is clearly needed to convince some States that international norms have changed. We commit ourselves to that effort when the Review Conference reconvenes in January next year.

One factor that offers some hope is the consensus adoption by the General Assembly two days ago of the resolution on the moratorium on the export of anti-personnel land-mines. In welcoming the unilateral moratoriums of some 25 countries, the General Assembly encouraged others to follow suit, and urged all parties to the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons to reach agreement on measures to strengthen prohibitions and restrictions governing land-mine use and transfer.

But even as we seek long-term legal solutions to the land-mine problem, it continues to grow. As we heard at the International Meeting on Mine Clearance held this year in Geneva pursuant to resolution 49/215, there are now more than 110 million land-mines in the ground of more than 60 countries. And, even worse, as we have heard again today, although we removed some 100,000 mines last year, more than two million new ones were laid.

That is a dreadful legacy for civilian populations around the globe. Hundreds of people are killed or maimed each week — most of them innocent civilians — many of them defenceless children.

The Geneva meeting addressed the issue on two levels. First, it enabled Governments to pledge over US$ 20 million to the Voluntary Trust Fund for Assistance in Mine Clearance, with a further US$ 60 million directed towards other mine-clearance activities. Recognizing the vital humanitarian role of the Trust Fund and its need for guaranteed regular funding, New Zealand pledged NZ$ 100,000 per annum for the next three years. These contributions, together with the funding from the regular budget, help place the United Nations mine-clearance programmes on a sound financial footing.

The meeting also enabled experts to deliberate on the full range of mine-clearance issues, the aim being to develop programmes making the most effective and efficient use of the funds available.

New Zealand believes more can be done in this regard. We say this based on our experience both on the ground, and here at United Nations Headquarters.

New Zealand has participated in United Nations mine-clearance operations in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Mozambique and Angola. In Mozambique we played a leading role in turning around a programme which faced serious implementation problems. We are now also engaged in assisting in solving problems with implementation in Angola.

In central Bosnia our peace-keeping contingent, on its own initiative, has introduced an innovative mine-education and mine-awareness programme which has been picked up by other peace-keeping units.

Here in New York we were pleased to see the Secretary-General designate the Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA) as the focal point in the United Nations system for mine-clearance activities. Such a focal point is essential if the Organization is to build on the lessons learned from different operations. There should never be a need for managers of different programmes to spend time trying to re-invent the wheel.

New Zealand has therefore contributed financially towards the strengthening of DHA's Mine Clearance and Policy Unit. In addition, we have provided two experienced de-mining officers from the New Zealand Defence Force to serve in the Secretariat.

The resolution before us today, in document A/50/L.57, which is co-sponsored by New Zealand, records the good progress that has been made in enhancing the ability of the United Nations to deal effectively with the challenge of mine-clearance operations. But more needs to be done. There is still too much overlap between the de-mining activities of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations (DPKO) and DHA. As I have said, the Secretary-General has designated DHA as the focal point for mine-clearance activities. In New Zealand's view, the United Nations should collocate the de-mining resources of DHA and DPKO to ensure that a more efficient and coordinated approach is taken to mine clearance in support of peace-keeping operations and humanitarian requirements, both during and after the mandate period.

More emphasis needs to be placed on national capacity-building. That provides the only hope for long-term sustainable mine clearance. While there is a role in the short term for utilizing the energies and experience of contract de-mining teams and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), this in no way reduces the need for countries threatened by mines to give emphasis to building up their own national de-mining capacities. All New Zealand's contributions to date have been directed towards such capacity-building. We will continue to focus our efforts in that direction.

We can offer no immediate solutions to this devastating problem. We can only offer our help and expertise to those most affected. We urge others to join us — both at the international negotiating table and in the minefields of the world — to demonstrate that there is an international commitment to reduce, and maybe one day remove, the threat posed by land-mines.

Mr. Ouch (Cambodia) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly, by adopting resolutions in the last two years on agenda item 46 entitled "Assistance in mine clearance", has clearly and convincingly shared the world's concern with regard to the heavy threat weighing on the lives of millions of human beings as a result of the millions of land-mines laid in a large number of countries of the world, including the Kingdom of Cambodia, and has noted the enormous efforts being made by the international community to find a definitive solution to these problems, to mitigate the suffering and unspeakable pain caused to innocent civilians, including women and children, and to defend their right to life and economic and social progress.

My delegation learned with great interest the contents of the detailed report of the Secretary-General contained in document A/50/408. We wish to thank him deeply. This report reflects the character and the dimensions of the problem of land-mines and other explosive devices, and it speaks of the untiring efforts made at the national and international levels to resolve the pressing problems involved. It enlightens us as to the scope and complexity of the task we face. It also clarifies the reason for the urgent need to strengthen and improve the coordination of international efforts to provide assistance in mine clearing.

We endorse the opinion of the Secretary-General, as expressed in the above report, with regard to consideration of the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons at the next meeting of the States parties, meaningful restrictions on the transfer of land-mines, their component parts and land-mine technology, and the implementation of the moratorium on the export of anti-personnel land-mines, in keeping with General Assembly resolutions 48/75 K and 49/75 D.

Cambodia has suffered from a long war. It has to undergo further suffering due to the presence of mines which hinder the national reconstruction process well after the conflict has ended.

In the Peace Agreements signed in Paris in 1991, mine clearance was one of the solutions to the problems of Cambodia, intended to ensure a return to normal social and economic life after more than 20 years of war, which had left numerous regions of our country infested with 8 million to 10 million land-mines. As is indicated by the Secretary-General in his report, one out of every 236 Cambodians has lost the use of at least one limb. At present, there are 40,000 amputees.

These land-mines continue to claim more and more victims every month — the majority of them between 20 and 30 years of age — and this constant danger to the lives of our people will continue for another 75 years. Its removal will require an enormous investment of time and money. For poor countries, like Cambodia, this heavy task is an additional burden on top of the destruction left by the Khmer Rouge regime and years of war.

Aware of its responsibility at the humanitarian level, with the support of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), the Royal Government of Cambodia, despite its meagre resources, established the Cambodia Mine Action Centre in June 1992 to take over UNTAC's mine-clearance programme as a means of equipping itself with an integrated national structure to strengthen its methods of dealing with mine clearance. With this programme of assistance for mine clearance, begun jointly by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, the Cambodia Mine Action Centre officially began operations in November 1993, and it has committed itself to establishing, in cooperation with the international community, a mine-clearing programme with four major components: mine clearance, mine-clearance training, mine survey and mine awareness.

The board of directors of the Cambodia Mine Action Centre was established on 13 February 1995, following a decision by the Government. The role of this board is to provide the Centre with guidelines that are in keeping with the Government's reconstruction programme, of which mine clearance is one of the priorities. In addition to the governing council, a steering committee, consisting of representatives of the donor countries and UNDP, has been set up. This committee meets every six months. At each meeting, the Centre is required to submit for discussion its work plan, a progress report and any other matters of interest.

The financing provided by the international community for mine-clearance operations as part of that programme will come to an end in April 1996, just when the Royal Government of Cambodia is encountering major difficulties, both economic and financial, and when the lives of thousands of Cambodians are still daily under threat from the Khmer Rouge outlaws, who, throughout the length of the border between Cambodia and Thailand, constantly engage in acts of destruction and sabotage against their peaceful existence. So long as these activities continue, the number of displaced persons and victims will continue to increase.

In this respect, parallel with the untiring efforts being undertaken by the Royal Government of Cambodia and with a view to the peaceful resolution of these matters, my delegation wishes to appeal to all friendly countries and to the international community to continue to provide assistance for the Cambodia Mine Action Centre well beyond the deadline of April 1996 so that it may be able finally to solve this urgent problem.

I should like to avail myself of this formal occasion to express the deep gratitude of the Government and all the people of Cambodia to the Governments and peoples of Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, the United States of America, France, Holland, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the United Kingdom and Sweden and to UNDP and all the other United Nations bodies involved for their timely and selfless assistance to Cambodia's mine-clearance programme. Our thanks go also to non-governmental organizations, such as Norwegian People's Aid, Handicap International, the Halo Trust, the Mine Advisory Group and the Compagnie française d'assistance spécialisée, for their help and their close and fruitful cooperation.

The land-cultivation problems, the human tragedies in the countries affected and the high cost of removal are reason enough to work jointly for a total ban on the manufacture and export of mines. It is in this spirit that the Royal Government of Cambodia has expressed its complete support for the proposal, introduced by the President of the United States at the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly, for the final elimination of anti-personnel land-mines and is actually preparing to sign the Geneva Convention of 10 October 1980 — the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects — and its Protocols. The Cambodian Government is also happy to be a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/50/L.45, concerning a moratorium on the export of anti-personnel land-mines, and of draft resolution A/50/L.57, on assistance for mine clearance, which is now before the General Assembly today for decision.

Mr. Rowe (Australia): All discussions of the problem of land-mines are redolent with statistics and verbal images of a profoundly shocking and disturbing nature, invoking numbers of civilians, including children, killed or injured, the extent of their injuries, the cost of rehabilitation, the effect on their livelihoods and their prospects for family life, the acreage of arable land laid waste and the incalculable debilitating social and political effects of living with a constant source of terror.

Mine clearance must be one of our highest priorities in development cooperation, both bilaterally and through the United Nations and regional organizations. There is no simple way of activating the necessary resources for mine clearance. We realize that there is a political dimension to intergovernmental discussions on this issue, which perpetuates the notion that developed countries are hoarding to themselves, for the sake of their commercial and military advantage, new and effective mine-clearance technologies that should be handed over to the United Nations.

I should like to quote from one writer on this subject:

> "The costs of mine clearance, if undertaken in a serious way, would likely equal the full development budgets of some of the poorest mine-infested countries. The reason for this is that mine clearance still consists principally of a person with a stick, probing the ground a few centimetres at a time. It is slow and dangerous work, and progress is measured in square metres rather than kilometres. Available alternatives all have significant limitations, and methods appropriate to battlefield mine breaching are not suitable for the large-area clearance necessary for civilian mine clearance. New technologies for civilian mine clearance are being discussed but are still in limited use or under research and development. Mine clearance experts generally agree that, although new technologies may provide significant cost and time savings in some clearance situations, no technological 'silver bullet' will cause the problem to go away."

In this context, we should like to draw delegations' attention to the resolution on anti-personnel land-mines adopted at the just-concluded 26th International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, which urged States to take concrete action to increase their support for mine-clearance efforts.

Mine clearance, at the rate and scale we need to do it, requires money — lots of it — expertise and training programmes. Australia has been at the forefront of mine-clearance assistance, both in terms of financial contributions and the services of our defence force experts. We were one of the first countries into Afghanistan in 1989 and the last to leave in 1993. In that time we helped to train over 14,000 Afghans in mine clearance.

Australian defence personnel continue to serve in Mozambique and Cambodia. We also provide funding for mine clearance to the Cambodia Mine Action Centre and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)/Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA) accelerated de-mining programme in Mozambique and to the United Nations Office for the coordination of assistance to Afghanistan.

We spent $4 million on de-mining in Cambodia in 1994, and, as we announced at the mine-clearance meeting in July, our contribution to the Cambodia Mine Action Centre in the financial year 1995-1996 is $2.5 million. We also assist the Australian Red Cross financially for its treatment and rehabilitation work in Cambodia.

Our current financial contribution to mine clearance in Angola, Afghanistan and Mozambique is close to $1 million. And we have contributed half a million dollars to the United Nations Voluntary Trust Fund. In Australia we have increased our spending on mine clearance, technology research to US $1 million annually. In all, our total financial contribution to de-mining is in the order of A$ 20 million.

While proud of our record, we are also inspired by the courage of the local civilians in mine-afflicted areas in learning the dangerous and painstaking work of mine clearance in order to protect their families and rebuild their economy.

Having clearly outlined the Australian Government's direct interest in this subject, I would like to make some further observations.

One of the most disturbing aspects of the land-mines problem is that we cannot be sure, and there is reason to doubt, that we are yet close to the rate and scale of mine clearance that is needed in order to reduce the number of laid mines at all, let alone really make a dent. In addition to applying more resources, we need to know that we have radically curtailed the rate of new mine laying.

I fear that there are States in which regular armed forces, insurgent groups or civilians are engaged in mine laying right now, and that, as I speak, arms manufacturers in some States are exporting mines, indifferent to the likelihood that they will be used recklessly and wantonly in breach of fundamental humanitarian principles on the protection of civilians from deliberate or indiscriminate attack. These States must exercise their responsibility to put an end to indiscriminate mine use.

Australia urges all Governments to begin by ratifying the 1980 Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons and to adopt nationally the strictest possible rules on the use, import and export of land-mines, and to ensure those rules are effectively implemented in areas under their control. In this regard, we welcome the increased rate of accessions to the Convention since the current Review Conference was convened two years ago. At that point there were somewhere between 30 and 35 States parties. With the recent accessions of Uganda and Togo, the number now stands at 57 by our count, which is practically double. We hope this trend will continue.

States parties to the 1980 Convention must set an example by making the rules in Protocol II, which covers land-mines, as strong as they can be. Of course, the optimum outcome from the point of view of humanitarian interests would be a ban on land-mines. We assume, though, that the goal of the negotiators at the Review Conference, which started in Vienna last September, is to balance humanitarian and military concerns. We think that they need to set their sights higher than they have so far, in order to strike the right balance.

We are concerned that in September some delegations were questioning fundamental principles on protecting civilians, such as the use of fencing and marking around mine fields. Our Ambassador for disarmament, commenting in Vienna on the circumstances that led to the suspension of the Conference, said:

> "the Australian Government is looking to this Conference to provide the sort of far-sighted vision that achieved in the past international agreements on humanitarian rules such as the Hague and Geneva Conventions on the conduct of war. Those Conventions and their Protocols accept that there must be a balancing of humanitarian and security interests. We believe the conference has, so far, not been giving due weight to humanitarian concerns".

Indeed, we noted that the reasoning behind some positions was not even justified by military rationale, but was related to the financial cost of bringing stockpiles into compliance with new obligations so that, for example, undetectable plastic mines can be banned, as they should be.

The Conference did make significant progress towards agreement on important issues, such as the application of the Convention to non-international armed conflicts, restrictions on transfers, a mechanism for regular meetings of the States parties, and five-yearly review conferences. We look to all delegations to the resumed sessions of the Review Conference to ensure that this progress is consolidated.

We also look for a continuous strengthening of international norms in this area. Australia's goal is that, pending readiness for a ban on land-mines, States will at least abandon the insidious long-lived mines. Otherwise, the mine-clearance problem will never go away, and we, and future generations, will continue to be haunted by the images that bring us together today.

Mr. Ibarra (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First, on behalf of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama, I would like to thank the Secretary-General, for his report (A/50/408) entitled "Assistance in mine clearance". This is a substantive document on United Nations activities and programmes regarding the problem of mine clearance. However, we would express concern that this report mentions the problem of mine clearance in Central America incompletely. For example, it makes no reference to Nicaragua, in spite of the fact that in July this year a full report on the mine-clearance situation there was submitted to the Department of Humanitarian Affairs. We would very much appreciate the correction of this omission relating to Nicaragua, as well as with regard to other Central American countries not mentioned in the report.

For the third consecutive year, the Central American countries are making a joint intervention on this matter of paramount importance to our region. We reaffirm our deep concern at the presence of mines and other unexploded devices in most of Central America. Their presence has acknowledged social, economic and humanitarian consequences that impede the return of normality which would promote the development of the entire region.

Mine clearance in our countries is indispensable for economic and social recovery, especially in view of conditions in countries where we have been devastated by years of conflict, as well as by the complex and costly character of mine-clearance programmes.

Consequently, the contribution of the international community, whether bilateral, multilateral or through the contributions of regional organizations or United Nations bodies, is fundamental for helping lessen the disastrous effects of the presence of mines in our countries.

For this reason, we note with great satisfaction the Secretary-General's convening of the International Meeting on Mine Clearance in Geneva from 5 to 7 July 1995, and we welcome the considerable pledges made during the conference to the Voluntary Trust Fund for Assistance in Mine Clearance. Those contributions will make it possible for the United Nations to initiate and support operations in a more timely and effective way. It is also important to note that the Geneva Meeting heightened the international community's awareness of the problems related to land-mines. A supplementary meeting in the near future would greatly facilitate follow-up work in this urgently crucial task.

Central America actively participated in the Geneva conference, where, with the participation of the Inter-American Defence Board of the Organization of American States, it organized a meeting to report to members of the international community — especially to cooperators — on the present status of mine clearance in Central America. We also emphasized the importance of international technical and economic assistance and cooperation, both bilateral and multilateral, in support of the efforts of Central American Governments to continue mine-clearance programmes.

On this occasion, Central America, as in the past two years, has joined in sponsoring the draft resolution on assistance in mine clearance in order to contribute to finding a solution to this difficult problem.

In the same spirit, the countries of the Central American isthmus submitted to the General Assembly last 22 November a draft resolution entitled "International assistance to and cooperation with the Alliance for the Sustainable Development of Central America". The draft resolution was adopted last 12 December as resolution A/50/58 B. The resolution appeals to the Secretary-General, the bodies of the United Nations system — in particular, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs — and the international community to give the Central American Governments the material, technical and financial assistance they need to complete mine-clearance activities in the region and to include such activities among the central priorities of the new programme for international assistance and cooperation for Central America, with the aim of improving and promoting reconstruction and sustainable development, thereby leading to lasting peace in the region.

We should like to take this opportunity to thank the General Assembly, the various bodies of the United

Nations system, the international community and, especially, the Secretary-General for their appeal for the provision of the material, technical and financial assistance required by Central American Governments to complete mine-clearance activities in the region.

In order to facilitate the administration of mine-clearance activities the Governments of the Central American countries have provided the Department of Humanitarian Affairs a data bank for mine removal with full information relating to mine-clearance activities carried out to date.

Mine-clearance work in Central America has been obstructed by a lack of stable financial and technical cooperation, which is needed by Central American Governments if they are to complete the activities already begun in this area.

We must emphasize that broad and effective coordination is also needed in order to eliminate the duplication of efforts and prevent certain areas from being neglected, since that could have adverse consequences for the results of programmes in the affected countries. Greater and growing coordination between the various United Nations bodies and the regional organizations that have been involved in these endeavours — in our case, the Organization of American States — is indispensable if we are to achieve the best possible results in the task we have set for ourselves.

We welcome the restrictive measures adopted by many States Members of the United Nations regarding the transfer, production or reduction of existing land-mines and other anti-personnel devices as a first step towards their complete elimination.

In this spirit, the countries of our region have reaffirmed that a general, verifiable agreement banning and restricting the use of certain conventional weapons would considerably reduce the suffering of the civilian population and of combatants. For this reason, we regret that the Review Conference of the 1980 Convention, which took place in Vienna from 25 September to 13 October this year, did not complete its consideration of bans and restrictions on the use of mines, booby traps and other devices referred to in Protocol II of the Convention. For this reason, we urge States parties to redouble their efforts to conclude negotiations aimed at consolidating the Protocol during the resumed sessions of the Review Conference, which are to take place in Geneva from 15 to 19 January 1996 and from 22 April to 3 May 1996.

We Central Americans are aware of the importance of the growing number of countries that have signed and ratified the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects. Our countries are taking the necessary measures to become parties to the Convention and its Protocols in the near future.

With every passing day, the international community is more aware of the world-wide problems caused by land-mines. Nevertheless, last year only 100,000 land-mines were deactivated while between 2 million and 5 million mines were laid. These figures highlight the fact that this is not a static problem; it is a recurring humanitarian crisis that is worsening day by day and requires greater efforts and political will if we are to put an end to this inhumane situation in which human lives are destroyed, as is the environment as a whole.

We therefore consider it our obligation to reiterate once again that the ultimate solution to the problem caused by the presence of mines and other unexploded devices in various parts of the world is to achieve a complete ban on the production, stockpiling, exporting and proliferation of this type of inhumane weapon, and the future efforts of the international community must be directed towards this objective. Central America can be counted on with full confidence in those efforts.

The Acting President: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item.

In view of the desire of the Members to dispose of this item expeditiously, and at the request of the sponsors of the draft resolution, I should like to consult the Assembly with a view to proceeding immediately to consider the draft resolution contained in document A/50/L.57. In this connection, since the draft resolution was only circulated this morning, it would be necessary to waive the relevant provision of rule 78 of the rules of procedure, which reads as follows:

> "As a general rule, no proposal shall be discussed or put to the vote at any meeting of the General Assembly unless copies of it have been circulated to all delegations not later than the day preceding the meeting."

Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees with this proposal.

It was so decided.

The Acting President: We shall now proceed to consider draft resolution A/50/L.57.

I shall now call on the representative of Mexico who wishes to make a statement in explanation of position before action is taken on the draft resolution. May I remind delegations that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. Tello (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Mexico will vote in favour of the draft resolution in document A/50/L.57.

Millions of land-mines remain dangerously hidden as cruel instruments bearing witness to wars. Particularly distressing are explosions of these devices in areas where conflicts have already been settled. Mexico, of course, takes a positive view of measures to ease the suffering of the thousands of victims, including many children.

Nevertheless, we cannot and must not deceive ourselves. The effort of the international community to clear mines will never be enough. We must be aware that because of the huge costs and difficulties involved, the number of mines cleared or defused is much less, really much, much less — as we all know, and as I have heard several speakers say today — than the number of devices being planted in every corner of the world.

Mine clearance and a freeze on exports are lofty goals, but nothing more than palliatives that in no way solve the problem by which all profess to be affected.

If all the Member States represented here truly aim to eliminate any possibility of children, women and men being killed, crippled or somehow prevented from contributing fully to the development of their communities and countries, then the answer is simple.

We must ban, once and for all and for ever, the manufacture of these instruments of pain and death. This is the only truly ethical option before the international community. Until a serious effort is made along these lines, we will be deceiving ourselves.

The Review Conference of the 1980 Inhumane Weapons Convention, which is to resume its work in 1996, will offer a fresh chance for all Member States to show their real level of commitment to eradicating the threat that mines represent to the lives and limbs of men, women and children throughout the world. Mexico will remain committed to the complete elimination of all types of mines.

The Acting President: There are no other speakers in explanation of vote or position.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/50/L.57.

I should like to announce that since its introduction, the following countries have become sponsors of draft resolution A/50/L.57: Azerbaijan, Latvia, Mozambique, the Republic of Korea, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution A/50/L.57?

Draft resolution A/50/L.57 was adopted (resolution 50/82).

May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 46?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.

United Nations
A/50/PV.93

General Assembly

Fiftieth Session

Official Records

93rd plenary meeting

Friday, 15 December 1995, 10 a.m.
New York

President: Mr. Diogo Freitas do Amaral . . . . (Portugal)

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

Agenda item 164

Normalization of the situation concerning South Africa

Letter dated 12 December 1995 from the Chairman of the Fifth Committee (A/50/815)

Draft resolution (A/50/L.44/Rev.1)

The President: In connection with this item, the General Assembly has before it a draft resolution, contained in document A/50/L.44/Rev.1. The Assembly also has before it in document A/50/815 it a letter dated 12 December 1995 from the Chairman of the Fifth Committee addressed to the President of the General Assembly, containing technical observations requested by the Assembly on the implementation of that draft resolution.

I call upon the representative of Algeria to introduce draft resolution A/50/L.44/Rev.1.

Mr. Lamamra (Algeria): It is a special honour and privilege for me, as the representative of Algeria, to introduce draft resolution A/50/L.44/Rev.1 on the agenda item "Normalization of the situation concerning South Africa". I do so on behalf of South Africa and of the 133 Member States — a significant number — whose names are listed in the document before you. I am glad to announce that Belize, Liechtenstein and Pakistan have joined the sponsors, thereby raising their number to 136.

The draft resolution is intended to normalize South Africa's situation at the United Nations. The draft resolution seeks to resolve finally the question of the outstanding contributions which have accumulated as a result of the unique history of the apartheid era.

The preambular part of the draft resolution contains the essential elements on which the decisions to be taken by the General Assembly are founded. These elements are, first, South Africa was invited to resume its participation in the work of the General Assembly on 23 June 1994 following the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial and democratic South Africa; secondly, the General Assembly recognizes the unique and exceptional circumstances arising from apartheid, which led to South Africa's abnormal situation at the United Nations; thirdly, the General Assembly notes that the exceptional circumstances have already been recognized through the consensus adoption of resolution 48/258 A on 23 June 1994.

In the operative part of the draft resolution the General Assembly decides that, owing to the unique and exceptional circumstances arising from apartheid, South Africa should not pay the assessments for the period from 30 September 1974 to 23 June 1994. That is the period during which the apartheid regime refused to pay its contributions in retaliation against the political decision of the General Assembly to reject the credentials of the representatives of that regime.

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This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one month of the date of the meeting*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, Room C-178. Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum.

The technical observations elaborated by the Fifth Committee in response to the request by the President of the General Assembly have been incorporated verbatim in the text of the draft resolution. These observations contain the most appropriate accountancy procedure to be followed in order to implement the present draft resolution. The General Assembly welcomes South Africa's decision to waive those surpluses which had, according to the Financial Regulations, accumulated during the period in question.

Finally, the General Assembly decides that the present draft resolution will under no circumstances set a precedent for the future. The case of South Africa is *sui generis*. There is no precedent in the history of the United Nations, nor can the draft resolution set a precedent, since it is based upon the unique and exceptional circumstances which arose during the apartheid era.

I urge all Member States to adopt the draft resolution by consensus, thus underlining the non-precedent-setting nature of the action to be taken today. Let this Assembly, by so doing, close the last chapter on the apartheid issue.

The President: I call upon the representative of Mexico on a point of clarification.

Mr. Tello (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like to ask the Secretariat, through you, when we are to receive the official document containing the financial implications of the decision we are about to take.

The President: I call upon the representative of the Secretariat, to provide the requested clarification.

Mr. Perfiliev (Director, General Assembly Affairs): The Secretariat wishes to confirm that the information furnished by the Secretariat to the Fifth Committee included estimates of the dollar amounts potentially attributable to individual Member States in respect of the surpluses to be reduced.

The Secretariat advised the Fifth Committee at that time that the calculation of an exact breakdown of each Member State's share would require considerable time to produce, because it entails the collection of detailed information on the periods to which those surpluses relate. This, in its turn, would involve a detailed review of over 30 General Assembly resolutions and related documentation, as well as the calculation of the share of each Member State for each period, using the different scales of assessment in effect over a period of more than 20 years.

The Secretariat has indicated to the Fifth Committee that, in the light of the volume of work involved and the need to ensure accuracy, it will not be possible to complete this exercise before late January 1996.

The President: I should like to announce that since the introduction of draft resolution A/50/L.44/Rev.1 Malta has become a sponsor.

Mr. Ho (Singapore): Nineteen months ago a new South Africa resumed participation in the General Assembly. This was a historic landmark in the history of the United Nations and the culmination of 20 years of international struggle against the apartheid regime.

The twentieth century has unfortunately been no stranger to political evil. There have been all-too-many unconstitutional, unrepresentative and repressive regimes. But even the most totalitarian of them has usually felt it necessary to make at least token obeisance to virtue by professing to rule in the name of some lofty ideal, even if in practice it ignored or perverted the ideal.

The apartheid regime was unique because it felt no need to make even a token gesture to morality. It was blatant in its contempt for international opinion and moral principle by professing to rule for no other reason than racism. It was shameless in justifying itself solely through reference to a nakedly evil idea. In this respect, it was a uniquely evil regime.

The struggle against the apartheid regime is over. A constitutional Government genuinely representing the people of South Africa is in place. But the struggle to dismantle the consequences of apartheid is still with us and will be for many years to come. This draft resolution is a strong political signal of support to the constitutional Government of South Africa and another step in its continuing struggle against the consequences of apartheid.

The debt that South Africa accumulated between 30 September 1974 and 23 June 1994, a period when the apartheid regime was barred from representing South Africa in the United Nations, is not only a crippling burden for the new South African economy but a painful reminder of the past.

Singapore therefore supports the waiver of South Africa's arrears accrued between 30 September 1974 and

23 June 1994. We were happy to co-sponsor this draft resolution normalizing the situation concerning South Africa.

We hope that this draft resolution will bury the ghosts of this unhappy period in South Africa's membership of the United Nations and enable the new South Africa to make a new beginning in the work of this Organization. We hope that relief from this debt may also give a boost to the new South African economy as it faces the many complex problems involved in meeting the aspirations of the South African people.

But as the apartheid regime was uniquely evil, so also must the measures we take to remedy its effects be unique. At a time when the United Nations is in dire financial straits, it is clear that how we have chosen to treat South Africa's arrears is an extraordinary measure to deal with an extraordinary problem and should not under any circumstances be repeated.

We are pleased that the draft resolution states unambiguously in its final operative paragraph that the decision we take today is indeed an exception and shall under no circumstances be used by any other Member State as a precedent to justify the write-off of its arrears.

The defeat of the apartheid regime and the emancipation of the South African people was a resounding and inspiring victory for the United Nations. It vindicated the ideals of the United Nations Charter and the faith so many countries placed in them. We hope that all Member States will draw from this example the political will to abide by their Charter obligations and pay their assessed contributions in full, on time and without conditions.

Mr. Laclaustra (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union.

The General Assembly will take action this morning on draft resolution A/50/L.44/Rev.1, thus closing definitively a chapter of the history of our Organization by eliminating all remnants of the unjust apartheid regime.

The European Union, fully aware of the clear political significance of the decision to be adopted today by the General Assembly, would welcome the adoption by consensus of this draft resolution, which is sponsored by all the member States of the Union and a large number of other States Members of the United Nations.

The European Union considers that the draft resolution allows the Organization to achieve the political objective of finally normalizing the situation regarding South Africa, since apartheid has been eliminated and democratic and non-racial rule has been established. At the same time, since the technical observations adopted by consensus by the Fifth Committee have been incorporated in the text of the draft resolution, the best possible financial solution has been achieved.

In this respect, the European Union wishes to underline that the situation concerning South Africa is a unique and exceptional case, arising from the fact that because of the apartheid regime South Africa was excluded from participation in the work of the General Assembly. After the establishment of a democratic system, South Africa was invited to resume its participation in the work of the General Assembly through the adoption of resolution 48/258 A.

The European Union wishes to stress that the draft resolution about to be adopted by the General Assembly cannot be used as a precedent by other Member States, given that no situation could be similar to that involving the apartheid regime. Furthermore, the adoption of draft resolution A/50/L.44/Rev.1 will mean that Article 19 of the Charter of the United Nations will no longer be applicable to South Africa.

In this respect, the European Union believes that, for the sake of greater transparency in the implementation of the exception contemplated in Article 19 of the Charter, there is a need to establish, in a concrete and precise manner, an adequate procedure to be followed by all Member States that consider that their failure to pay is due to circumstances beyond their control.

The European Union wishes to take this opportunity to recall the importance of the decisions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, which have made a significant contribution to the end of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic system.

Allow me to highlight the financial effort made by all Member States in waiving their right to part of the budget surpluses that the Organization owes them — that is to say, $53,332,105 from the regular budget and $40,168,572 from peace-keeping-operation budgets — thus contributing to the normalization of the situation concerning South Africa.

It should be noted, as is mentioned in the draft resolution, that, before this action, the total surplus retained in the regular budget available as credits to Member States from the Organization amounts to $122,238,000, while in the peace-keeping-operation budgets, the figure is almost $173,400,000.

In this connection, and taking into account the serious financial situation of the Organization, the European Union is confident that South Africa will match the effort made by all States Members of the Organization with the decision to make voluntary contributions, in cash and in kind, to the programmes and activities of the United Nations.

I should like to conclude by stating that the European Union considers that a consensus on this draft resolution would be a clear example of the need for the common will of the Members of the Organization to manifest itself in order to resolve the financial crisis of the United Nations.

Ms. Ashipala-Musavyi (Namibia): The Namibian delegation, having presented, on behalf of South Africa and the Member States of the southern African region, the item entitled "Normalization of the situation concerning South Africa" at the first meeting of the General Committee at the fiftieth session of the General Assembly, is extremely pleased that the United Nations has lived up to its commitments.

The United Nations was seized of the question of apartheid very early, at its inception. Then it was a question of racial segregation. The United Nations grew and its purpose expanded; it became an institution not only for safeguarding international peace and security, but equally for promoting and defending basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. At the other extreme, the policy of racial segregation in South Africa and Namibia developed into a policy legally sanctioning the inequality of human beings. The international community, through the United Nations, never wavered, vehemently and completely rejecting that obnoxious policy.

We in Namibia, being not only neighbours of South Africa but also having had the misfortune of being subjected to the same policy of apartheid, fully comprehend the basis and the rationale of the historic decision the General Assembly is about to take. Namibia therefore fully endorses the draft resolution.

The heinous policy of apartheid of the then-apartheid regime of South Africa is well-known and does not need elaboration. Allow me, however, to mention one salient point: apartheid was decreed a crime against humanity in 1973 by this Assembly in resolution 3068 (XXVIII) of 30 November 1973. By the same resolution the Assembly adopted and opened for signature the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. That demonstrates the rejection by the international community of the policy of apartheid — a policy that attempted to create "ethnic purity" communities. Tragically, this was by force of State law. All this is now history, perhaps better forgotten.

It was from this perspective that we, the people of the United Nations, felt — and rightly so — proud of our achievements when a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa was finally invited to rejoin the community of nations. The moving triumphal statements we made in 1994, when South Africa was re-admitted into the United Nations, still ring loudly in our ears.

What the draft resolution demands from each Member State is a sacrifice worth making. In the history of mankind, moments of great disaster, either natural or as a result of the folly of man, international solidarity has always been the beacon of hope and confidence.

It is the irony of the human race that while being capable of producing monsters like Hitler and Verwoerd it is equally capable of galvanizing immeasurable generosity and solidarity. This is a case in point.

My delegation therefore urges the Assembly, in solidarity with the people of South Africa, to unanimously endorse the draft resolution. This is the least the international community could achieve.

Mr. Maruyama (Japan): My delegation supports the adoption of draft resolution A/50/L.44/Rev.1, entitled "Normalization of the situation concerning South Africa", which approves the special arrangement excusing the Government of South Africa from the obligation of paying arrears for the period extending from 30 September 1974 through 23 June 1994.

This is indeed a unique arrangement in which all the other Member States have collectively shown their willingness to accommodate the request of the new Government of the Republic of South Africa and to bear the consequent financial burden. In so doing, they are acknowledging the fact that South Africa was barred from participating in the work of the United Nations by General Assembly resolution during the period in question. The arrangement is also an expression of their wish to congratulate South Africa on the abolition of apartheid.

My delegation is gratified to see that, as a result of the technical evaluation of this matter in the Fifth Committee, the financial consequences of the decision to relieve South Africa of the obligation to pay its arrears are spelled out clearly in the draft resolution. The present draft resolution is thus a great improvement over the previous text, which was somewhat vague on this issue. This improvement was an important factor in Japan's decision not only to support, but also to co-sponsor the draft resolution.

The Japanese delegation would like to join many other delegations in heartily commending the Republic of South Africa for putting an end through peaceful and democratic means to its long history of racial confrontation. In particular, it expresses profound admiration for President Mandela, for his wisdom and perseverance in creating a stable, democratic and free society. It is our sincere hope that the Republic of South Africa will continue to progress on that course.

Mr. Bjørn Lian (Norway): Last year the international community witnessed the final overthrow of apartheid in South Africa. The elimination of apartheid and the establishment of democracy and majority rule in South Africa represented an important victory for the fundamental political values and principles on which the United Nations itself is built. This historic event was of great significance not only to South Africa and its people, but also to Africa as a whole and to the international community at large.

Once again we congratulate the people of South Africa and their political leaders on their success in bringing apartheid to an end. Also, the United Nations and the international community played an important role in the fight against the policy of apartheid, which rightly was considered "a crime against humanity" and

> "a ... negation of the ... Charter of the United Nations". *(resolution 3068 (XXVIII), first preambular paragraph)*

Norway, for its part, was consistently in the front line of this fight. The Norwegian boycott of the apartheid regime was efficient and substantial. Norway's direct support for the anti-apartheid movement was also considerable, amounting over the years to more than $200 million. This economic support is presently being continued in the form of development assistance during the transition period, amounting to almost $100 million over five years. The main objective of this assistance is to help the new South Africa to consolidate the democracy won through the elections in April last year and the local elections in November this year.

The exclusion of the South African apartheid regime from participation in the work of the United Nations General Assembly was an expression of the commitment by the international community to combat apartheid. The accumulation of South Africa's financial arrears was in turn a direct consequence of this step taken by the Members of the United Nations. It is therefore natural and logical that the international community should now take the necessary steps to ensure that the new South Africa is not burdened by these arrears, which in fact constitute financial costs of the fight against apartheid — a fight we considered our common responsibility.

By adopting the draft resolution before us, we will take those necessary steps. In the view of my Government, the draft resolution offers a fully satisfactory solution to the problem at hand. The solution is exceptional, as is the problem itself, being linked to a historical situation of a unique character. It is therefore also essential that the draft resolution, in paragraph 5, makes it unequivocally clear that under no circumstances will this decision constitute a precedent.

The decision that the General Assembly will take today to write off South Africa's financial arrears to the United Nations should be considered a final element of our common fight against apartheid. Allow me, Mr. President, to express Norway's deeply felt satisfaction that the new South Africa now holds its rightful place within the United Nations and that its relations with the international community, through the adoption of the draft resolution before us, will be fully normalized.

Mr. Dlamini (Swaziland): We in Africa, particularly in its southern region, regard this as a historic occasion. To us, this draft resolution is an instrument which seeks to remind the General Assembly of the noble task and the responsibility that it undertook in 1974. As I speak, my delegation and, indeed, the entire nation of the Kingdom of Swaziland are praying that you, Mr. President, and the General Assembly will remember and be careful not to water down the good work done by the Assembly and its presidency many years ago. By the power of what they crafted then, a situation that was seriously dehumanizing mankind in South Africa was successfully eliminated and subsequently uprooted.

In spirit, the draft resolution implores the members of the General Assembly to continue to honour its undertaking, which, indeed, we regard as a sacred assignment. A child was conceived and has now been born. For quite some time the Assembly prayed that at birth the child would be moving and would be seen to be a part of this family. What mother anywhere, having laboriously and painfully given birth, would then gather the family together and say, "Let us now devour the child." or "Let us now cripple the child."? What sailor anywhere, realizing that a fellow crew member was sinking in the ocean, would save him and then say, "Now that you are out of the terrible torrent, you must start to repay the debt of your adversaries."?

It is not, and will not be, a duty of the United Nations to punish South Africa — the very South Africa that we have been endeavouring to save; the very South Africa whose liberation has been the objective of our resolutions. Would it be fair to South Africa, or indeed to the United Nations, to craft amendments or attach strings or conditions to this draft resolution, which is very clear? My delegation says no. A political decision was taken in good faith, and that is what we must have again — a political decision, taken in good faith, to write off deeds that were never committed and debts that were never incurred by the present South Africa.

Since 1912 the Kingdom of Swaziland has worked hand in hand with those involved in the struggle in South Africa. We have learnt from our ancient Kings and Queens that they fully identified themselves with the liberation of the black people of South Africa. And today, we say that the black people of South Africa and the country's new Government should never be burdened by sins for which they are not responsible. We want to see South Africa move fast, without the burden of debts that it did not incur.

Mr. Owade (Kenya): Kenya is one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/50/L.44/Rev.1, entitled "Normalization of the situation concerning South Africa". We co-sponsored this draft resolution being convinced that the circumstances surrounding the South African situation are unique and exceptional. South Africa was suspended from participation in the work of the General Assembly in 1974, due to the abominable and heinous policy of apartheid that then prevailed in that country. The Assembly played a leading role in the struggle against apartheid, culminating in the multiracial and democratic elections in April 1994, upon which South Africa resumed its seat in the United Nations.

We reiterate therefore that we associate ourselves with the statement made very eloquently by the Permanent Representative of Algeria, on behalf of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution, which made it clear that the South African case is *sui generis* and cannot in any way set a precedent. We do not foresee a situation in which any country will be suspended from the work of this Assembly again for practising the worst form of racial discrimination.

The sacrifice being made by Member States by waiving their rights to credits that would otherwise be due to them is indeed a commendable gesture for a noble cause. As the new democratic and popularly elected Government of President Nelson Mandela embarks on its national reconstruction efforts the international community must continue to give South Africa full and unequivocal support. We therefore hope that the draft resolution will be adopted by consensus.

Mr. Jele (South Africa): The apartheid practices in South Africa and the moral outrage they provoked remained an agenda item of the General Assembly for 46 years. For a record 46 years, this Assembly laboured unceasingly to eradicate the scourge of apartheid. For that steadfast commitment, last year President Mandela stood before this Assembly to express, on behalf of the people of South Africa, his deepest gratitude.

The removal of the apartheid item from the agenda on 23 June last year and the invitation to South Africa to take its rightful place among the community of nations was met with great joy, relief and satisfaction. In accordance with the provisions of resolution 48/258 A, adopted by consensus on that date, the General Assembly explicitly recognized the "exceptional circumstances" pertaining to South Africa's situation at the United Nations. Yet on 23 June last year the removal of the apartheid item from the agenda did not settle fully and finally South Africa's past in this body. The legacy of the apartheid regime at the United Nations remained with us. This legacy arose from the unparalleled and unique nature of the system of apartheid.

The struggle against apartheid entailed many sacrifices and also produced unparalleled action by the United Nations. Never before has the General Assembly adopted so many resolutions on one single political issue.

Never before has the international community deliberated for so many years and succeeded in forging and maintaining consensus on a matter of such moral and political importance. But, more significantly, never before has the General Assembly taken a political decision to reject the credentials of a delegation. This decision not only demonstrated the General Assembly's abhorrence of the policies of that Government, but reinforced the Assembly's declaration of the unrepresentative nature and illegitimacy of the apartheid regime.

The repugnance towards the apartheid system compelled even the Security Council, at a time when cold-war paralysis inhibited consensus, to take unprecedented action by imposing, for the second time in United Nations history, a comprehensive, mandatory arms embargo under Chapter VII.

All these actions to isolate the apartheid regime were morally and politically justified. In retaliation, the apartheid regime intentionally withheld payment of its membership contributions. For 20 years these unpaid contributions accumulated. It is this legacy which the Assembly is addressing today. The draft resolution is founded upon the belief that this remaining legacy of apartheid should now be exorcised.

The resolution which we will adopt today reflects the recognition by the international community of the unique and exceptional circumstances which led to South Africa's abnormal situation at the United Nations. Due to these unique and exceptional circumstances, arising from the apartheid era, the draft resolution does not set a precedent for the future. Its adoption will enable my Government to normalize its situation in the United Nations and to fulfil our financial obligations fully. We have already met our commitments for 1994 and regular budget commitments for 1995. My Government is fully aware of the precarious financial situation currently facing the United Nations. I can therefore assure the Assembly that South Africa will not be found wanting in its support for and commitment to our Organization now and in the future.

Since we resumed our seat in the General Assembly my Government has made substantial voluntary contributions to peace-keeping operations in Africa. In late 1994 South Africa rendered cost-free essential air support services for the election process in Mozambique, working in tandem with the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (UNOMOZ) to ensure the successful outcome of those elections. Recently South Africa contributed voluntarily to the peace-keeping operation in Angola by providing, at short notice, essential equipment to expedite the establishment of quartering areas to the value of some $8 million.

I am pleased to announce that I have received explicit instructions to inform the Assembly that my Government has decided, as a special gesture, to make a voluntary financial contribution to the United Nations. This special gesture is made in appreciation of the role of the United Nations in the struggle against apartheid and in recognition of the financial situation of the Organization. The voluntary contribution is made over and above South Africa's normal assessments and any other voluntary contributions similar to that which we have already made in Angola. The contribution will be specifically earmarked for peace-keeping operations in Africa.

The concrete details of this financial contribution will be communicated to the Secretary-General immediately the necessary formalities have been concluded by my Government.

Mr. President, your personal assistance and patience in facilitating the consultations on the procedural aspects of this draft resolution are much appreciated.

I also wish to express my gratitude for the thorough examination and time-consuming deliberations which the members of the Fifth Committee, supported by the expertise of the Secretariat, undertook to elaborate the technical details contained in the draft resolution.

Finally, my Government's gratitude goes to all Member States for their support of this draft resolution. I would also like to address a special word of thanks to the sponsors, which took the important decision to commit themselves to the draft resolution.

The President: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item.

We shall now proceed to consider draft resolution A/50/L.44/Rev.1.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their positions before action is taken on the draft resolution. May I remind delegations that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. Tello (Mexico) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: My delegation has no objection to the adoption without a vote of draft resolution A/50/L.44/Rev.1. We understand the unique and exceptional circumstances that surround this question and that have led the General Assembly to consider as liquidated South Africa's assessments for the period from 30 September 1974 to 23 June 1994.

We recognize that for this purpose we, the Member States, will be waiving claims to reimbursement of the sum due us from the surpluses generated in previous budgetary periods.

The delegation of Mexico believes that the treatment we are today according South Africa is in keeping with a situation that is unique and unrepeatable.

Today more than ever, the financial situation of the Organization makes it imperative that Member countries comply fully and punctually with their obligation to pay the expenses of the Organization in the terms laid down in the Charter.

My delegation regrets that this draft resolution, which has financial implications has not been accompanied by any budget of expenditures prepared by the Secretary-General, as provided for in rule 153 of the provisional rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

At the same time, Mr. President, the delegation of Mexico is grateful for the information you have just given us to the effect that the publication of the official document detailing the specific sums waived by each Member State, in accordance with the provisions of the draft resolution, will be circulated at the end of next January.

Mr. Fagundes (Brazil): The reintegration of South Africa into the international community has been a very complex political process over the years. Brazil has always been supportive of efforts aimed at dismantling apartheid and at the advent of a multiracial society based on the lofty tenets of democracy.

Brazil is one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/50/L.44/Rev.1, since we strongly believe that such an initiative represents the conclusion of a long process that has put behind us a past of injustice in favour of a future of brighter prospects for that sister country.

My delegation wishes to stress that, owing to the unique and exceptional circumstances pertaining to the resumption of South Africa's participation in the work of the General Assembly, the draft resolution on which we are about to take action, as clearly stated in its text, shall under no circumstances be used or construed as a precedent.

The President: There are no other speakers in explanation of position before action is taken on the draft resolution.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/50/L.44/Rev.1. I should like to announce that, since the introduction of the draft resolution, Andorra and Viet Nam have added their names to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/50/L.44/Rev.1. May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution A/50/L.44/Rev.1?

Draft resolution A/50/L.44/Rev.1 was adopted (resolution 50/83).

The President: I now call on the representative of Poland, who wishes to make a statement in explanation of position on the draft resolution just adopted.

Mr. Jaremczuk (Poland): Poland welcomes with great satisfaction the adoption of this resolution by consensus, bearing in mind the exceptional and unique circumstances that have been taken into consideration. My country strongly supports the aspirations of the young democracy in the Republic of South Africa.

Although we join the consensus without any hesitation, I have been instructed to point out that due to the transformation processes under way in my country and the exceptionally high cost paid by my society, Poland will not soon be in a position to pay the additional expenses for the sake of the Organization which might be incurred by this resolution.

The President: We have heard the only speaker in explanation of position.

May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 164?

It was so decided.

Agenda item 42 ***(continued)***

Question of Palestine

Report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (A/50/35)

Report of the Secretary-General (A/50/725)

Draft resolutions (A/50/L.47, A/50/L.48, A/50/L.49, A/50/L.50)

The President: Members will recall that the General Assembly concluded its debate on the agenda item "Question of Palestine" at its 75th meeting, on 30 November 1995.

In connection with this item, the Assembly has before it four draft resolutions.

I should like to draw members attention to a letter dated 11 December 1995 from the Chairman of the Committee on Conferences, issued as document A/50/404/Add.2 and concerning draft resolution A/50/L.48.

I call on the Acting Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, His Excellency Mr. Ravan Farhadi of Afghanistan, to introduce draft resolutions A/50/L.47, A/50/L.48, A/50/L.49 and A/50/L.50.

Mr. Farhadi (Afghanistan), Acting Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I have the honour to introduce the four draft resolutions — A/50/L.47, A/50/L.48, A/50/L.49 and A/50/L.50 — on the question of Palestine. These draft resolutions have been drawn up in the light of recent progress in the peace process, which the Committee has welcomed with satisfaction and has supported. At the outset, allow me to announce that Guyana has joined as a sponsor of the four draft resolutions.

The first three draft resolutions — A/50/L.47, A/50/L.48 and A/50/L.49 — renew the mandates of the Committee, the Division for Palestinian Rights of the Secretariat and the Secretariat's Department of Public Information to continue their endeavours and programmes in their respective spheres of competence while taking current developments into consideration. The corresponding financial provision has been made in the programme budget for 1996-97.

In draft resolution A/50/L.47, the Assembly welcomes the signing of the Declaration of Principles and the subsequent implementation agreements, including the Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip of 28 September 1995, and reaffirms that the United Nations has a permanent responsibility with respect to the question of Palestine until the question is resolved in all its aspects in a satisfactory manner in accordance with international legitimacy.

As members can see in the text, the General Assembly believes that the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People can continue to make a valuable and positive contribution to international efforts to promote the effective implementation of the Declaration of Principles and to mobilize international support and assistance to the Palestinian people during the transitional period. The Assembly endorses the recommendations of the Committee contained in its report and requests the Committee to continue to keep under review the situation relating to the question of Palestine and to report and make suggestions to the General Assembly or to the Security Council as appropriate. It also authorizes the Committee to continue to make every effort to promote the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to make the adjustments in its programme of work it may consider appropriate and necessary in the light of developments, to give special emphasis to the need to mobilize support and assistance for the Palestinian people and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its fifty-first session and thereafter. The Assembly also requests the Committee to continue to assist non-governmental organizations and to take the necessary steps to involve additional non-governmental organizations in its work.

In draft resolution A/50/L.48, which deals with the work of the Division for Palestinian Rights of the Secretariat, the General Assembly confirms that the Division continues to make a useful and constructive contribution through the organization of seminars and meetings of non-governmental organizations, as well as through its various informational activities, and requests the Secretary-General to continue to provide the Division for Palestinian Rights with the necessary resources in accordance with existing mandates.

In draft resolution A/50/L.49, which deals with the work of the Department of Public Information, the General Assembly considers that the special information programme on the question of Palestine is very useful in raising the international community's awareness of the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East in general and requests the Department, acting in full cooperation and coordination with the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to continue that programme with the necessary flexibility as may be required by developments, with particular emphasis on public opinion in Europe and North America.

Draft resolution A/50/L.50 is entitled "Peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine". In the draft resolution, the General Assembly reaffirms the need to find a peaceful settlement of all aspects of the question of Palestine, which is at the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Assembly expresses its full support for the peace process that began in Madrid and the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements, as well as the subsequent implementation agreements; expresses the hope that the process will lead to the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East; and, finally, calls for the timely and scrupulous implementation of the agreements towards the negotiation of the final settlement.

The General Assembly stresses the need for the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, primarily the right to self-determination, and for the withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967. It also stresses the need for resolving the problem of the Palestine refugees in conformity with General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948; urges Member States to expedite the provision of economic and technical assistance to the Palestinian people during this critical period; emphasizes the importance for the United Nations to play a more active and expanded role in the current peace process and in the implementation of the Declaration of Principles, including the monitoring of the forthcoming Palestinian elections; and requests the Secretary-General to continue his efforts with the parties concerned, and in consultation with the Security Council, for the promotion of peace in the region and to submit progress reports on developments in this matter.

The four draft resolutions I have just introduced were formulated with a firm resolve to contribute to the current peace process and to make real progress towards a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine. A number of delegations, representing the view of the majority of the members of the international community on the question of Palestine, have been consulted in the drafting of these texts.

Convinced that it is now necessary not only to maintain but also to reinforce our solidarity with the Palestinian people, on behalf of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people, I invite all delegations present here to reaffirm their support for this objective and to adopt a constructive approach by voting in favour of the draft resolutions before the Assembly.

The President: The Assembly will now proceed to consider draft resolutions A/50/L.47 to A/50/L.50.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote. Before I call on the first speaker, may I remind delegations that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. DeCotiis (United States of America): My Government is unable to support the four draft resolutions that have been introduced under agenda item 42, "Question of Palestine".

Three draft resolutions, namely A/50/L.47, A/50/L.48 and A/50/L.49, are remnants of an earlier time, largely unchanged in their focus and purpose from years past. They have been overtaken by events on the ground in the Middle East. These draft resolutions promote institutions and activities whose approach to Middle East peace is both unbalanced and outdated. They do little to support the process of negotiation now under way directly between the parties concerned, nor do they reflect, except in perfunctory ways, the remarkable progress that has been achieved by the parties. In sum, these draft resolutions do not contribute to the growing spirit of reconciliation in the Middle East.

This alone would be sufficient cause for concern. In addition, these institutions and activities absorb about $7 million worth of financial and human resources that could be better used in another way. The international community has clearly stated its support for assisting the Palestinians in building needed self-government, a socio-economic infrastructure and social services. We believe the General Assembly should consider carefully whether the activities supported by these draft resolutions represent the most effective use of United Nations resources in support of Palestinian needs. We believe these resources would be better spent in support of the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian people. At a time when we are searching for ways to reform the United Nations for a role in the twenty-first century, these kinds of expenditures seem excessive to those who criticize the United Nations.

Mr. Peerthum (Mauritius), Vice-President, took the Chair.

We urge that resources be transferred from these committees and activities to other United Nations organizations, such as the office of the Special Coordinator in the Occupied Territories, that will carry out programmes directly benefiting Palestinians. Draft resolution A/50/L.50, entitled "Peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine", speaks conclusively to issues that are, as we speak, under direct negotiation between parties in the region. As a sponsor of the Madrid peace process, my Government believes it is inappropriate and unhelpful for the General Assembly to take a position on issues that are now under direct negotiation by the parties in a process to which they have given their solemn agreement. At this important moment, we want to support that process of negotiation rather than focus on issues or statements that divide and polarize.

The United States supports the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. To our regret, the unbalanced drafts before us complicate the achievement of that objective. We will vote against these four draft resolutions and invite others to do the same.

Mr. Pérez-Desoy (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the European Union.

Life in the occupied territories is gradually being transformed. The peace process, following the signing of the historic Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, is now irreversible. The Israeli security forces have already withdrawn from Jenin, Tulkarm and Nablus, Kalkiliya, Bethlehem and Ramallah are expected to come under Palestinian control by the end of the month.

The European Union regrets that the mandates of the Departments in charge of the question of Palestine do not reflect adequately the positive developments which have taken place in the Middle East, although the last report of the Committee shows a positive state of mind towards the peace process. It is now time to open new paths for the peaceful coexistence of Israelis and Palestinians, and to have the Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, the Division for Palestinian Rights and the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat truly reflect the progress achieved in the peace process.

To this end, the European Union has made a number of concrete and constructive proposals. We regret that, once again this year, it has not been possible to achieve the reform we suggested. The European Union will therefore abstain on draft resolutions A/50/L.47 and A/50/L.48.

We hope that next year the need to adjust the mandates of these bodies to the new realities on the ground will be fully recognized.

Ms. Rubinstein (Israel): Since September 1993, Israel and the Arabs have taken historic steps forward in the peace process. Major developments included the signing by Israel and the PLO of the Declaration of Principles on 13 September 1993, and its subsequent agreements, the Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area signed in Cairo on 4 May 1994; the agreement on the preparatory transfer of powers and responsibilities signed on 29 August 1994; and the Interim Agreement signed in Washington on 28 September 1995. On 14 September 1993, Israel and Jordan signed the Agreement on the Common Agenda which led to the subsequent Washington Declaration signed on 25 July 1994 and culminated in the signing of the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty on 26 October 1994. In addition, bilateral and multilateral negotiations continue, and we look forward to progress on all tracks of the peace process.

We had hoped that at its fiftieth session the General Assembly would respond to the new realities in the Middle East by changing and eliminating obsolete resolutions drafted at the height of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Regrettably, this has not happened. The draft resolutions before us do not reflect the new realities nor do they reflect our hopes for a better future.

Draft resolution A/50/L.47 endorses and authorizes the work of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. Draft resolution A/50/L.48 does the same with regard to the Division for Palestinian Rights of the Secretariat. Israel has opposed the existence of these bodies since their inception. They have obstructed dialogue and understanding through a one-sided and distorted portrayal of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Indeed, they stand in contradiction to the very principles upon which the peace process is based. In addition, these bodies expend valuable resources that should be devoted to more constructive activities, such as supporting social and economic development that would benefit Palestinians.

Draft resolution A/50/L.49 requests the Department of Public Information, among other things, to disseminate information on all the activities of the United Nations system relating to the question of Palestine. We believe that this, too, is a needless expenditure of valuable resources that could be put to better use.

Draft resolution A/50/L.50, while somewhat changed, remains essentially the same as the resolutions adopted in the past two years. Like previous resolutions, it attempts to predetermine the outcome of negotiations on issues relating to the permanent status, in contradiction to the Declaration of Principles. And, like the previous resolution, draft resolution A/50/L.50 is fraught with internal contradictions. On the one hand, it claims to support the peace process that began in Madrid. On the other hand, it attempts to undermine the fundamental principle of direct negotiations without preconditions upon which the Madrid process is based. We believe that Member States that claim to support the peace process have a responsibility to oppose this draft resolution, as it strikes at the essential principles on which the process is based.

Accordingly, Israel will vote against the draft resolutions under this agenda item. We encourage others who support the peace process to do the same.

Mr. Dlamini (Swaziland): Speaking on this crucial issue, my delegation wishes to reiterate its longstanding policy of advocating peaceful dialogue. The Kingdom of Swaziland has for some years, in a number of forums, asserted that the way to lasting peace is to open doors and talk and resolve and agree.

It is our duty, therefore, to promote this principle of peaceful dialogue. Our duty is to herald the good efforts of both parties to take every possible measure to achieve a fruitful, lasting and peaceful situation in the Middle East. The State of Israel has opened the door to peaceful dialogue and the Palestinian leadership has clearly demonstrated a spirit of willingness to negotiate and talk. We have seen the leaders of both parties kissing and hugging one another. To my delegation, that is a clear sign that peace is a necessary commodity in the Middle East, one that is needed by all partners.

Therefore, the delegation of the Kingdom of Swaziland appeals to this Assembly, as it has always done, to reject any draft resolution that seems to defeat the spirit of cordiality and willingness to achieve a peaceful and lasting settlement in the Middle East. In this spirit, my delegation would find it very difficult, if not impossible, to support any draft resolution that falls short of recognizing the good efforts of both parties concerned, as well as those of the United Nations itself, in trying to bring lasting peace to the Middle East.

The Acting President: We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote before the voting.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolutions A/50/L.47 to A/50/L.50.

We turn first to draft resolution A/50/L.47, entitled "Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People".

We shall now begin the voting process.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belarus, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Egypt, El Salvador, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against:

Israel, United States of America

Abstaining:

Andorra, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominica, Ecuador, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Grenada, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lesotho, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Monaco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Samoa, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uzbekistan

Draft resolution A/50/L.47 was adopted by 95 votes to 2, with 52 abstentions (resolution 50/84 A).

[Subsequently, the delegations of Guinea-Bissau and Saint Lucia informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour; the delegation of Latvia had intended to abstain.]

The Acting President: We turn now to draft resolution A/50/L.48, entitled "Division for Palestinian Rights of the Secretariat".

We shall now begin the voting process.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belarus, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Egypt, El Salvador, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against:

Israel, United States of America

Abstaining:

Andorra, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominica, Ecuador, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Grenada, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lesotho, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Monaco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Samoa, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uzbekistan

Draft resolution A/50/L.48 was adopted by 96 votes to 2, with 53 abstentions (resolution 50/84 B).

[Subsequently, the delegations of Guinea-Bissau and Saint Lucia informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour; the delegation of Latvia had intended to abstain.]

The Acting President: We turn next to draft resolution A/50/L.49, entitled "Department of Public Information of the Secretariat".

We shall now begin the voting process.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Andorra, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belarus, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Djibouti, Egypt, El Salvador, Eritrea, Estonia, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kazakstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Monaco, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against:

Israel, United States of America

Abstaining:

Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, Grenada, Lesotho, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Russian Federation

Draft resolution A/50/L.49 was adopted by 142 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions (resolution 50/84 C).

[Subsequently, the delegations of Grenada, Guinea-Bissau, Latvia and Saint Lucia informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.]

The Acting President: We turn now to draft resolution A/50/L.50, entitled "Peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine".

We shall now begin the voting process.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Andorra, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belarus, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Chile, China, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Eritrea, Estonia, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kazakstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Monaco, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against:

Israel, Micronesia (Federated States of), United States of America

Abstaining:

Costa Rica, Marshall Islands, Russian Federation

Draft resolution A/50/L.50 was adopted by 143 votes to 3, with 3 abstentions (resolution 50/84 D).

[Subsequently, the delegations of Guinea-Bissau, Latvia and Saint Lucia informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.]

The Acting President: Before I call on the first speaker in explanation of vote, let me remind delegations that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. Samadi (Islamic Republic of Iran): My delegation would like to express its reservations on those parts of the resolutions adopted under agenda item 42 which might be construed as any recognition of Israel.

Mr. Hallak (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/50/L.50, entitled "Peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine". Our favourable vote does not mean either that we support or that we oppose the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements signed by the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel, to which reference is made in the ninth and tenth preambular paragraphs and in operative paragraph 2 of that text.

Mr. Amer (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolutions A/50/L.47, entitled "Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People", A/50/L.48, entitled "Division for Palestinian Rights of the Secretariat", A/50/L.49, entitled "Department of Public Information of the Secretariat", and A/50/L.50, entitled "Peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine". We voted in favour because those four texts contain many elements in support of efforts that aim at meeting the demands of the Palestinian people.

However, I wish to put on record the reservations of my delegation with regard to the provisions in these resolutions that could be construed as recognition of so-called Israel or as welcoming or supporting the current peace process in the Middle East. That process does not provide a just and comprehensive and final solution for the problems in the region, with their core issue the question of Palestine. The question of Palestine can be resolved only through implementation of the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations, and repeatedly reaffirmed by the international community as the best framework for a just and comprehensive solution that would meet the demands of the Palestinian people, particularly for the exercise of its right to return to its homeland, the establishment of a State of its own, and the exercise of self-determination.

The establishment in South Africa of a united, democratic, non-racial State exemplifies a solution that could be applied to Palestine through the establishment of a democratic State there, where Palestinian Arabs and Jews can live on an equal footing.

Mr. Valencia Rodríguez (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Ecuador abstained in the voting on draft resolutions A/50/L.47, L.48 and L.49 under agenda item 42, "Question of Palestine", and voted in favour of draft resolution A/50/L.50. My delegation considers it vital to support the Middle East peace process initiated at the Madrid conference in 1991 and to make the most effective possible contribution to strengthening the bilateral and multilateral negotiating machinery that is functioning now.

In this connection, my delegation welcomes the fact that crucial progress has been made in the peace process in the Middle East, and we support the parties that are endeavouring to reach a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the conflict. This must include full recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

My delegation vote in favour of draft resolution A/50/L.50, which was cast for the reasons I have given, reflected Ecuador's unswerving rejection of, and refusal to recognize, territorial occupation or annexation by force, as well as its firm conviction that a peaceful and negotiated settlement must be found to territorial disputes between States, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the norms of international law.

The Acting President: We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote after the vote.

In accordance with General Assembly resolutions 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and 43/177 of 15 December 1988, I now call upon the observer of Palestine.

Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the Palestinian people, the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestine National Authority, I wish to extend thanks to all the Member States that supported the four draft resolutions submitted under the agenda item "Question of Palestine". The General Assembly has just adopted these draft resolutions by overwhelming majorities. I should like to extend special thanks to the Chairman and members of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for their continued efforts in support of those rights in order that they may be fully attained and thereby provide the real guarantee that comprehensive, just and lasting peace will be built in the Middle East.

At the same time, we cannot but express regret over the positions taken by the delegations of the United States of America and Israel. Those are positions that appear to aim principally at setting aside international law and international legality and at forcing the Palestinian side to accept the results of illegal Israeli policies that have been subject to condemnation by the international community for many years. Those positions appear to be aimed also at subjecting the final settlement, that settlement which will be reached only after many years, to an imbalance of power that is in favour of Israel.

The Palestinian people, while engaged in the peace process, is armed only with its historic rights, with international legality and with international law. Any attempt to deprive one people even of those arms, is immoral and must be totally rejected. Furthermore, the claim by certain parties that they know best what the interests of the Palestinian people are, even better than the representatives of the Palestinian people, and that, thereby, they have the right to give advice on the best way of helping the Palestinian people, is also an unacceptable claim.

Positive change must take place in two directions and must be brought about by both parties, not by one party alone. In this connection, it appears logical that the required change is that which those who adopt isolated positions that are far removed from those of the international community must make in their positions in order for them to join the international community under the principles of the Charter and international law.

This is the third session of the General Assembly following the very important development of 1993, namely the mutual recognition and the signing of agreements between the Government of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. At all three sessions, the Assembly while expressing its absolute support for the ongoing peace process, has emphasized its principles stand, based on the Charter and international law, with regard to the elements of the final settlement of the Palestinian question nd to the necessity of enabling the Palestinian people to attain its inalienable rights. We wish to voice our gratitude to the international community for this stand, which has become an unchangeable and undisputed political reality. For this, we reiterate our thanks.

Lastly, I should like to extend our thanks to all those working in the Secretariat's Division for Palestinian Rights and the special information programme on the question of Palestine of the Department of Public Information. In this connection, we would stress the need for full implementation of the relevant programmes approved by the General Assembly.

The Acting President: The Assembly has thus concluded this stage of its consideration of agenda item 42.

Agenda item 33 ***(continued)***

International assistance for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Nicaragua: aftermath of the war and natural disasters

Report of the Secretary General (A/50/535)

Draft resolution (A/50/L.18/Rev.1)

The Acting President: The General Assembly will now resume its consideration of this agenda item to take action on draft resolution A/50/L.18/Rev.1. Members will recall that the Assembly held its debate on this item at its 55th plenary meeting on 10 November 1995.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/50/L.18/Rev.1.

I should like to announce that since the introduction of the draft resolution the following countries have become co-sponsors: Haiti, Italy, Spain and Sweden.

May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution A/50/L.18/Rev.1?

Draft resolution A/50/L.18/Rev.1 was adopted (resolution 50/85).

The Acting President: May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 33?

It was so decided.

Agenda item 38 ***(continued)***

The situation of democracy and human rights in Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General (A/50/548)

Draft resolution (A/50/L.53)

The Acting President: The General Assembly will now resume its consideration of this agenda item to take action on draft resolution A/50/L.53.

Members will recall that the Assembly held its debate on the item at its 88th plenary meeting, on 11 December 1995.

Mr. Valle (Brazil): On behalf of the States Members of the United Nations that are members of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States and of the group of countries Friends of the Secretary-General for Haiti, I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the following revisions to the draft resolution contained in document A/50/L.53, entitled "The situation of democracy and human rights in Haiti".

The first revision, to the fifth preambular paragraph, is to delete the words "and non-violent" at the beginning of the second line.

Secondly, in operative paragraph 2, in the first line, the words "at the appropriate time" should be replaced by the words

> "upon consideration of a recommendation by the Secretary-General".

In the last line, after "7 February 1996", the words "in an appropriate resolution" should be added. The whole paragraph will then read:

> "*Stands ready* upon consideration of a recommendation by the Secretary-General and at the request of the Haitian authorities to extend the United Nations component of the International Civilian Mission to Haiti beyond 7 February 1996 in an appropriate resolution".

Thirdly, in operative paragraph 5, the words "justice and economic prosperity" should be added at the end of the paragraph after "lasting democracy".

Finally, in operative paragraph 8, in the second line, the word "increase" should be replaced by "continue".

It is the hope of the co-sponsors of draft resolution A/50/L.53 that the General Assembly will be able to adopt this text by consensus.

The Acting President: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/50/L.53 as orally revised. I should like to announce that the following countries have become co-sponsors of draft resolution A/50/L.53 as orally revised: Antigua and Barbuda, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, Germany, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Uruguay.

May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution A/50/L.53 as orally revised?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 50/86).

The Acting President: We have concluded this stage of our consideration of agenda item 38.

Postponement of date of recess

The Acting President: I should like to draw the attention of members to a matter relating to the date of recess.

Members will recall that at the 3rd plenary meeting, on 22 September 1995, the General Assembly decided that the fiftieth session should recess on 19 December 1995 and close on 16 September 1996.

However, the Assembly will not be able to conclude its work on Tuesday, 19 December 1995. I should like, therefore, to propose to the Assembly that it postpone its date of recess until 22 December 1995.

If there is no objection, may I take it that the Assembly agrees to this proposal?

It was so decided.

Programme of work

The Acting President: I should like to inform members that on Tuesday, 19 December, in the afternoon, the General Assembly will consider agenda item 20 (d), "Emergency international assistance for peace, normalcy and reconstruction of war-stricken Afghanistan", together with agenda item 54, "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security".

I should like to inform members that, in connection with agenda item 35, "Question of the Comorian island of Mayotte", originally scheduled to be considered on Monday, 18 December, a request has been submitted to defer consideration of the item to a later date.

I should also like to inform members that on Wednesday, 20 December, in the morning, the General Assembly will take up the reports of the Second Committee.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

United Nations

A/50/PV.94

General Assembly
Fiftieth Session

Official Records

94th plenary meeting
Monday, 18 December 1995, 10 a.m.
New York

President: Mr. Freitas do Amaral . . . . (Portugal)

In the absence of the President, Mr. Kulla (Albania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

Agenda item 17 *(continued)*

Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments

(a) Appointment of members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions

Report of the Fifth Committee (A/50/774)

(b) Appointment of members of the Committee on Contributions

Report of the Fifth Committee (A/50/775)

(c) Appointment of a member of the Board of Auditors

Report of the Fifth Committee (A/50/776)

(d) Confirmation of the appointment of members of the Investments Committee

Report of the Fifth Committee (A/50/777)

(e) Appointment of members of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal

Report of the Fifth Committee (A/50/778)

The Acting President: I first invite members to turn their attention to the report of the Fifth Committee (A/50/774) on agenda item 17 (a), entitled Appointment of members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.

The Fifth Committee recommends in paragraph 11 of its report that the General Assembly should appoint the following persons as members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions for a three-year term of office beginning on 1 January 1996: Mr. Jose A. Marcondes de Carvalho, Mr. Vijay Gokhale, Mr. Yuji Kumamaru, Mr. Wolfgang Stockl, Mr. Tang Guangting and Mr. Giovanni Luigi Valenza.

May I take it that the Assembly appoints those persons?

It was so decided.

The Acting President: We come now to the report of the Fifth Committee on sub-item (b) of agenda item 17, "Appointment of members of the Committee on Contributions" (A/50/775).

In paragraph 9 of the report the Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly should appoint the following persons as members of the Committee on Contributions for a three-year term of office beginning on 1 January 1996: Mr. Pieter Johannes Bierma, Mr. Sergio

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one month of the date of the meeting*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, Room C-178. Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum.

Chaparro Ruiz, Mr. Neil Hewitt Francis, Mr. Atilio Norberto Molteni, Mr. Mohamed Mahmoud Ould El Ghaouth and Mr. Omar Sirry.

May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to appoint those persons?

It was so decided.

The Acting President: I now invite members to turn their attention to the report of the Fifth Committee on sub-item (c) of agenda item 17, "Appointment of a member of the Board of Auditors" (A/50/776).

In paragraph 4 of that report the Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly should appoint the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India as a member of the United Nations Board of Auditors for a three-year term of office beginning on 1 July 1996.

May I take it that the Assembly wishes to appoint this person?

It was so decided.

The Acting President: May I now invite members to turn their attention to the report of the Fifth Committee on sub-item (d) of agenda item 17, "Confirmation of the appointment of members of the Investments Committee" (A/50/777).

The Fifth Committee recommends in paragraph 4 of its report that the General Assembly should confirm the appointment by the Secretary-General of the following persons as members of the Investments Committee for a three-year term of office beginning on 1 January 1996: Mr. Yves Oltramare, Mr. Emmanuel Noi Omaboe and Mr. Jürgen Riemnitz.

In the same paragraph the Fifth Committee also recommends that the General Assembly should confirm the appointment of Mr. Takeshi Ohta to fill the remainder of a three-year term of office expiring 31 December 1996.

May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to confirm the appointment of those persons?

It was so decided.

The Acting President: We now come to the report of the Fifth Committee dealing with the appointment of members of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal under sub-item (e) of agenda item 17 (A/50/778).

In paragraph 4 of that report the Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly should appoint the following persons as members of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal for a three-year term of office beginning on 1 January 1996: Mr. Francis Spain and Ms. Deborah Taylor Ashford.

May I consider that the Assembly appoints those persons?

It was so decided.

The Acting President: May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to conclude its consideration of sub-items (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) of agenda item 17?

It was so decided.

Agenda item 50

Declaration of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity on the aerial and naval military attack against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya by the present United States Administration in April 1986

The Acting President: It is my understanding that, after the necessary consultations, consideration of agenda item 50 may be deferred to the fifty-first session of the General Assembly.

May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to defer consideration of the item and to include it in the provisional agenda of the fifty-first session?

It was so decided.

The Acting President: May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 50?

It was so decided.

Agenda item 30

Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

Report of the Secretary-General (A/50/564)

Draft resolution (A/50/L.62)

Draft decision (A/50/L.63)

The Acting President: I call upon Mr. Andre Erdös, Deputy State Secretary of Hungary, to introduce draft resolution A/50/L.62 and draft decision A/50/L.63.

Mr. Erdös (Hungary) (*interpretation from French*): I welcome this opportunity to participate in this debate as the personal representative of the Chairman-in-Office of an important international body, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The fact that the Secretary-General's report on cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe advocates the maintenance and strengthening of the constructive working relationship that has been established between the two organizations bodes well for the future and must be further consolidated on the basis of a rational division of labour between the United Nations and the OSCE.

Hungary, which this year is assuming the chairmanship-in-office of the OSCE, has consistently devoted particular attention to the development of cooperation between that body and other organizations and institutions with a similar calling. The United Nations occupies a very special place in this respect. This is reflected in the declaration of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) Summit, held in Helsinki in 1992, which stated that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

> "is a regional arrangement in the sense of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, and as such provides an important link between European and global security" *(A/50/L.62, second preambular paragraph)*.

This position was subsequently confirmed at the Budapest Summit of 1994, at which, in order to highlight the role of the CSCE in maintaining security on the continent as well as the institutional changes that had taken place within it, the Conference was transformed into an Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

In this respect, special mention should be made of the increasingly frequent and fruitful contacts being developed between the participating States of the OSCE and their cooperation partners in the regions neighbouring the OSCE.

Since the Budapest Summit, the two organizations have been continually developing and strengthening their cooperation links in the political and organizational areas. Their representatives are deploying joint efforts in humanitarian activities, in the monitoring of respect for human rights and in the implementation of measures stemming from sanction regimes.

Thus, shortly after the beginning of the year, the chairmanship-in-office of the OSCE agreed with high-level officials of the United Nations Secretariat to hold regular consultations between the two organizations. This agreement was confirmed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE at the meetings they held throughout this year. The implementation of this agreement began in April, when, within the framework of an exchange of views, several officials and experts from the United Nations Secretariat reviewed, together with an OSCE delegation that was visiting New York, the various aspects of United Nations peace-keeping operations. On behalf of the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE, I take this opportunity to thank the members of the Secretariat for their valuable assistance, which contributed greatly and in a concrete manner to preparing the OSCE to undertake similar actions.

I should like also to stress that the representatives to the United Nations of the country currently holding the chairmanship in office of the OSCE very much appreciated the excellent informal working relationships they had this year with their Secretariat colleagues.

Also noteworthy are the follow-up contacts that were established between the secretariat staff of the United Nations and of the OSCE in New York, Geneva and Vienna. In this respect, particular mention should be made of the series of meetings held between the Secretary-General of the OSCE and his United Nations partners during the session commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations. As a result of those consultations — and as another example of the implementation of the 1993 framework agreement for cooperation between the two organizations — a memorandum of understanding was signed last October on coordinating the actions of the OSCE and of the United Nations in central Asia and on local cooperation among their representatives in Tashkent.

The initiative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in arranging a meeting next February, for the second time, between representatives of the United Nations and the regional organizations will further enrich the mutually advantageous cooperation between the world Organization and the OSCE, and will help identify new and concrete forms for this cooperation.

The true touchstone of our cooperation is our joint activity in the settlement of conflicts. From this point of view, we attach great importance to the support provided by the United Nations in the preparation and eventual implementation of the peace-keeping operation that the OSCE is planning to undertake in the Nagorny Karabakh region.

Another broad-ranging area of cooperation for the two organizations has been provided by their active participation in the settlement process in the former Yugoslavia. The tasks incumbent upon the OSCE and the United Nations were set out in the Peace Agreement initialled in Dayton and signed in Paris. They were laid down specifically at the London Conference on the implementation of the civilian aspects of the Agreement. A subsequent series of meetings is also planned in order to promote the implementation of the various specific sections of the Dayton Agreement.

In this context, we attach great importance to the fact that the United Nations and the OSCE are carrying out joint coordinated actions, relying on their comparative advantages in areas where one or the other would take on a key role. I have in mind primarily the monitoring of human rights, including those of national minorities, and the establishment of conditions that would allow refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes. The immensity and the complexity of this undertaking should be obvious to all.

One cannot underestimate the seriousness of the deadlines facing the international community. The OSCE, for its part, faces the most difficult challenge in its history. As an integral part of the crucial undertaking of restoring peace to the regions of the former Yugoslavia ravaged by deadly conflict and of establishing the rule of law in other regions of the former federation, the OSCE can make a decisive contribution by organizing democratic elections in the next six to nine months in Bosnia and Herzegovina and by fully playing its role in Croatia.

The OSCE and the United Nations are specifically mentioned in the conclusions of the London Conference. As is well known, the Conference established a Peace Implementation Council, whose work will be guided by a Steering Board. According to the conclusions of the Conference, the OSCE and the United Nations will have the right to participate in the activities of the Steering Board when it considers matters that fall within the competence of one or the other organization. Needless to say, this represents an impressive array of issues, and the OSCE, for its part, is counting upon being associated as closely as possible with the activities of the Steering Board.

I have the honour of submitting to the General Assembly, on behalf of 51 countries, the draft resolution contained in document A/50/L.62 on cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE. The following States have been added to the original list of sponsors: Albania, Estonia, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, the Russian Federation and Tajikistan. The draft resolution accurately reflects the main areas of activity and consideration of this regional organization. The draft rightly emphasizes the complementarity of the work of the United Nations and that of the OSCE in the maintenance of security in the OSCE region and on a global scale. The sponsors hope that this draft resolution will be adopted by consensus.

Upon the expiration of its term as Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE, Hungary would like to ensure a smooth and orderly transfer to its successor, Switzerland, of the matters it has dealt with this year. While wishing our Swiss colleagues good luck and success in the complex tasks awaiting them at the head of the OSCE, I wish to take this opportunity to introduce draft decision A/50/L.63, which allows Switzerland, which is a non-member of the United Nations, to submit documents on behalf of the OSCE and to participate at the United Nations, if necessary, regarding matters that affect the OSCE.

With the Assembly's permission, I shall read out the text of draft decision A/50/L.63, and I ask the Assembly to support its adoption. The text reads as follows:

> "The General Assembly decides to authorize Switzerland, on an ad hoc basis, as the State holding the chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe during the period from 1 January to 31 December 1996, to submit communications on behalf of the States members of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe for circulation as United Nations documents

and to participate in discussions in the General Assembly that are of direct concern for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, during the period in question."

Mr. Türk (Slovenia): Slovenia is among the sponsors of the draft resolution (A/50/L.62) before the General Assembly, and we hope that both the draft resolution and the draft decision (A/50/L.63) will be adopted by consensus. In addition, we would like to contribute several thoughts which we believe are pertinent at this stage of our reflection on the cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

More than 20 years has elapsed since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act on Security and Cooperation in Europe. A year ago the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe was established. The present discussion on the cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE offers an opportunity to reflect on both the experience gained in the past and the necessary steps for the future.

The process of security and cooperation in Europe over the last 20 years has passed through several stages which have been defined by the general evolution of the political and security situation in Europe.

Initially the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) was perceived differently by its different members. Some saw it as an instrument for the preservation of the political and social status quo, while others wished it to be a vehicle of change. Some emphasized its security aspect, while others gave preference to human rights and the human dimension in general. During its first decade the CSCE was paralysed as a result of the cold-war confrontation, which was most clearly manifested in Europe.

Towards the end of the 1980s it became possible for the CSCE to develop its human dimension into a powerful instrument of real social and political transformation in Europe. The situation in Europe started to change radically, and the CSCE instruments of human rights were of critical importance in this context. That was probably the finest hour in the history of the CSCE to date.

The period immediately following the end of the cold war was less successful. The CSCE was unable to develop into a workable and practical framework for peaceful change. To a large extent it remained hostage to the perceptions inherited from the cold-war era. It missed the opportunity to grasp the necessary changes in the territorial status quo that prevailed up until that time and to assume a meaningful role in their management. Like other systems based on cooperation among sovereign member States, the CSCE was able to deliver as much as the wisdom and political will of its members allowed. In this sense, the CSCE relearned the lesson that is well known in the United Nations.

That new era brought not only a radically changed political and security landscape but also a substantially enlarged CSCE membership. In the last four years its membership has increased by one third, a factor of considerable political and practical importance.

I recall these facts simply to recall that the OSCE and the United Nations have been confronted with tasks of considerable magnitude. It is most likely that the near future will be equally demanding. Hence the need to very carefully reflect on the common tasks, the division of labor, the means of coordination and cooperation and the nature of future relationships between the United Nations and the OSCE.

It is clear that the OSCE needs to develop and to make more specific its vision of security issues in Europe for the coming years. Without a realistic and sufficiently operational vision for dealing with the basic security and political issues in the region, the OSCE will not be able to play an active role and will react to emerging situations in a random and not necessarily successful manner.

Slovenia therefore welcomes the decision on a common and comprehensive security model for Europe for the twenty-first century, adopted at the recent Budapest meeting of the ministerial Council — a new concept for a new century.

We believe that the new security model must be built on the foundations which have so far instilled confidence in Europe: transparency of intentions, dialogue and multilateral cooperation. Furthermore, the new security model ought to achieve two objectives: to expand the area of stability and, at the same time, provide effective means to enable crisis-ravaged areas to be integrated into the European security space.

These are ambitious objectives. However, nothing less than the achievement of these objectives will guarantee stability and security in Europe in the coming century.

It will be very important in the process of building a new security model for due consideration to be given to the need both for security issues to be addressed in a comprehensive manner and for the right focus to be given to the priority issues as the elaboration of the security model proceeds.

The annex to the decision on the common and comprehensive security model provides a fairly exhaustive list of security issues to be addressed. That list constitutes an appropriate basis for work towards a comprehensive model.

Moreover, we are heartened to see in that decision that the OSCE members have committed themselves to respecting

> "the inherent right of each and every participating State to be free to choose or change its security arrangements, including treaties of alliance, as they evolve." *(A/49/800, annex, Budapest decision VII, "A common and comprehensive security model for Europe for the twenty-first century", first paragraph)*
>
> "Each will respect the rights of all others in this regard." (Ibid., *Budapest decision IV, "Code of conduct on politico-military aspects of security", para. 11)*

The language quoted is an important expression of the principle requiring that regional arrangements be freely agreed upon by the participating States. Let me mention, in passing, that this principle is of universal importance and has been recently reaffirmed in the United Nations — in the guidelines and recommendations for regional approaches to disarmament within the context of global security, adopted by the United Nations Disarmament Commission and endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 48/75 G of 16 December 1993.

The practical relevance of this principle in the present situation in Europe will be most clearly visible in the efforts for the further development of various subregional arrangements. Only consistent respect for the right of free choice can ensure that the new or modified arrangements will be tailored to respond to the actual security needs and genuinely shared common interests. Only on such a basis will it be possible to make these arrangements mutually supportive and the functioning of the general model effective.

It goes without saying that the future security models do not depend primarily on the soundness of ideas or on their conceptual quality and coherence. While all these ingredients are extremely important, they depend vitally on the ability of an organisation to cope with the actual security situations at hand. Here, the challenges before the OSCE are great, and cooperation with the United Nations is essential.

The Chairman's summary of the Fifth Meeting of the Ministerial Council lists a variety of specific situations that are currently being addressed by the OSCE and its diverse mechanisms. Among these, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina represents the most complex task and "an unprecedented challenge", as recognized in the relevant decision of the Ministerial Council. Cooperation between the OSCE and the United Nations will clearly be necessary.

It is appropriate that the General Assembly should carefully reflect on the nature of that cooperation in the immediate future. This is necessary because the success of the OSCE depends to a very large extent on the effectiveness of the United Nations and its future activities. The preparation of free, democratic and fair elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the responsibility of the OSCE. However, that responsibility cannot be fulfilled without certain conditions. Among these, the need to prosecute and punish the major war criminals and to start the process of meaningful repatriation of refugees is particularly important. How can free, fair and democratic elections take place without prior fulfilment of these conditions?

Therefore, the United Nations must do its utmost to ensure that the Hague Tribunal for war crimes in the former Yugoslavia is effective. The work of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for the voluntary repatriation of refugees must receive full support. The Security Council ought to remember that it created the war-crimes Tribunal and that further measures may be necessary to guarantee its effectiveness. The General Assembly should follow the situation closely and make the necessary recommendations to the Security Council.

In short, with respect to elections and, more generally, with respect to the future of human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the OSCE depends on proper implementation of the tasks assumed by the United Nations. This situation of dependence has created an additional responsibility for the United Nations.

In addition to the basic conditions for the establishment of a real and durable peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is a need to provide an appropriate political environment for long-term stability and cooperation in the region. It is not premature to think very carefully about the essential elements for the creation of such a political environment.

These elements include mutual recognition between the successor States to the former Yugoslavia, which has ceased to exist; equitable settlement of the issues of State succession; and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the successor States. Slovenia has already recognized all the other four successor States resulting from the dissolution and extinction of the former Yugoslavia, and has been recognized by all four. Diplomatic relations have been established between Slovenia and three other successor States. We have also proposed the establishment of diplomatic relations between Slovenia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

We believe that early recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations between all five successor States to the former Yugoslavia would contribute to political stability in that part of Europe and would accelerate the process of negotiations on the outstanding issues of State succession concerning State property and debt, as well as State archives. It would also help in the future efforts to resolve the pending questions of State succession with respect to successor States' membership of international organizations. Here, as in respect of all other aspects of State succession, it is necessary that the principle of the equality of all five successor States to the former Yugoslavia be carefully observed. These States must fulfil the same substantive and procedural conditions for membership in the United Nations and in other international organizations.

I have discussed the issues related to Bosnia and Herzegovina in some detail as particular responsibility with respect to these has been assumed both by the OSCE and by the United Nations. Today, the United Nations has an opportunity to contribute to a just and durable peace by taking the right decisions in the months to come and by creating some of the important conditions for the success of the activities of the OSCE. This opportunity should not be missed.

Let me note, before closing, that the agenda of the OSCE has been expanded and diversified — a feature that will provide an important new opportunity for cooperation between the OSCE and the United Nations in the future. The OSCE is in the process of preparing for its own peace-keeping operations. Here, the experience of the United Nations may help the OSCE, both to make the right decisions and to avoid the wrong ones.

On the other hand, the OSCE has developed a variety of innovative approaches in the domain of preventive diplomacy, such as the work of ombudsmen, long-term missions and the work of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities. The OSCE is providing specific expert advice on the drafting and implementation of new constitutions. The Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights is increasing its activities constantly. I believe that the United Nations can benefit greatly from the experience gained in all these aspects of preventive diplomacy.

The OSCE is facilitating the withdrawal of foreign troops and the implementation of bilateral agreements. Progress is being made in arms control, particularly in the implementation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. This is an important contribution to the efforts of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, and it merits the fullest support of the United Nations.

In short, the recent development of OSCE activities provides new opportunities for cooperation between the OSCE and the United Nations. Let us make sure that these opportunities are seized and that our common security is strengthened.

Mr. Zlenko (Ukraine): Today, on the eve of the twenty-first century, Europe is going through an important stage in its history. The ending of the cold war has given strong impetus to the process of establishing, between the States of the European continent relations of true partnership in the field of security, as well as new substance to the Helsinki process.

This has resulted in considerable enhancement of the role of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) as the most versatile regional structure in Europe for addressing challenges of the twenty-first century. At present, this Organization is tasked with finding solutions to the problems that threaten peace and security in the European region; developing and implementing effective measures in the area of preventive diplomacy; managing critical situations; dealing with arms control and disarmament; and handling post-conflict stabilization. At the same time, the OSCE has not yet accumulated sufficient potential or worked out mechanisms and procedures for the effective settlement of conflicts, particularly in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, around Nagorny Karabakh and in Georgia.

This once again testifies to the fact that the development of a comprehensive system of security in Europe is impossible without the active involvement of the United Nations, which can provide necessary capabilities, resources and experience.

To this effect, Ukraine supports the development of close cooperation and coordination of arrangements between the United Nations and the OSCE in all areas of mutual interest — above all, on the prevention and settlement of conflicts and on issues to do with the protection and promotion of basic human rights and freedoms. It is for this reason that we supported the resolution of the General Assembly granting observer status at the United Nations to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, resolution 48/5 of 13 October 1993, as well as the resolution on cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE, resolution 49/13 of 15 November 1994. Our country did so on the basis that the range of problems confronting the European community may be solved more promptly and efficiently through enhanced cooperation and coordination of efforts of the United Nations and OSCE. In our opinion, since the adoption of those resolutions relations between the two organizations have been developing successfully at both the political and the organizational levels. Joint efforts are being made in the area of international humanitarian law and in the monitoring of the observance of human rights. The establishment of a regular political dialogue between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE, as well as between their representatives, has become an indicator of a positive relationship.

In view of the fact that the contemporary world is based on the interconnection of the elements of an integral process for the development of international security, Ukraine views its security within the format of overall OSCE regional security and supports the establishment of a comprehensive system of security for the twenty-first century. In this context, strict observance by Member States of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final Act and other commonly recognized international legal and political instruments is indisputably a permanent requirement. It is only in this way that an end may be put to the relapses of the past and contradictions that still exist, as well as to the proliferation of new threats and challenges to international peace and security on the European continent.

However, one cannot but be surprised by the attempts of various countries to cast doubt, by their statements and acts, on a number of basic principles of the instruments I have mentioned. This primarily concerns the principles of territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States and refraining from making groundless territorial claims.

I should like to stress that neglecting these key principles creates a dangerous precedent for security and stability in Europe and the whole world. In our opinion, the United Nations, together with the OSCE, should take preventive measures in order to prevent any attempts whatsoever to rouse separatism, chauvinism, intolerance and aggressive nationalism.

In our view, the emergence of millions of refugees and displaced persons who need to return to their permanent places of residence constitutes one more serious problem in Europe, which is a consequence of wars, armed conflicts, social hatred and scandalous violations of human rights. It is obvious that no single State alone can cope with such problems, which create a permanent hotbed of tension and instability in the region. In this connection, international support from United Nations institutions, as well as assistance by international financial structures and donor countries, will make a weighty contribution to the search for ways to eliminate such problems.

As is shown by the lessons of the United Nations peace-keeping operations, the United Nations alone cannot perform every function in the peace-making sphere. It should be clear today that all the efforts — even the enormous efforts — of the Secretary-General, the Security Council and the General Assembly to prevent conflicts, bring them under control and achieve a final settlement, are futile and ineffective without the cooperation and support of other entities acting in the international arena; here I refer first to regional organizations. We therefore believe that there is still no alternative to coordinated cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations as regards peace-keeping and security.

This is the basis on which the delegation of Ukraine approaches the issue of active involvement of the OSCE in the resolution of conflicts on the territory of the former USSR, as well as of the former Yugoslavia. We think that mutual diplomatic support on the part of the United Nations and the OSCE is an important prerequisite for the successful resolution of regional problems.

Therefore, we are in favour of a significant expansion of the mutually beneficial consultations between the United Nations and the OSCE in order to exchange opinions on conflict situations in Europe and possible ways to resolve them. We think that timely and rapid provision of technical advisory services by the United Nations could facilitate a gradual political resolution of existing hotbeds of conflict and the elimination of their consequences. In this regard, the delegation of Ukraine supports a proposal to strengthen the process of consultations between the institutions of the United Nations, the OSCE and other organizations; they serve as important forums for exchanging information and coordinating actions, as well as a means to prevent duplication of efforts.

It is necessary to consider thoroughly a mechanism for conducting joint operations of the United Nations and OSCE — including humanitarian operations — which may serve as a possible model of future cooperation.

We find it necessary to further the interaction between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. We consider it expedient to explore ways of strengthening contacts between the United Nations and the OSCE with regard to the human dimension.

The agreement between the United Nations Secretary-General and the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE on the framework of cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and the OSCE constitutes a solid basis for cooperation in the areas I have mentioned. The Ukrainian delegation believes that we have entered an important stage, in which the arrangements made earlier are to acquire practical effect.

In this connection, the OSCE's participation in the peace-building process in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be a serious test. In our opinion, the OSCE has a special role to play in this process. The formal signing by the parties in conflict of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its annexes on 14 December this year provides real opportunities for reaching comprehensive and long-lasting peace in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

I should like to take this opportunity to note that Ukraine highly commends this Agreement, which aims at ending the bloody war, which has lasted for four years, and at promoting a climate of stability and security in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ukraine proceeds on the assumption that the parties to the conflict bear the main responsibility for the complete and unconditional implementation of all the Agreement's provisions. At the same time, the effective and timely implementation of its provisions, especially as regards its civil component, largely depends on coordination and complementarity of efforts made by the United Nations and the OSCE. The agreement foresees a decisive role for the OSCE in such areas as the preparation and holding of free elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina and monitoring the observance of human rights. It authorizes the OSCE to perform crucial functions in securing regional stability, and confirms the commitment of the OSCE to assist in holding negotiations in order to develop confidence-building measures, including establishing control over armaments.

Together with other organizations and agencies, including the United Nations, the OSCE is called upon to promote a just solution to the problem of refugees, as well as the reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the creation of a fully-fledged civil society in this long-suffering State.

In our opinion, carrying out those functions and tasks will be a sort of test of the solidity of cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE, and it should offer an example of complementarity and proportional division of functions between the United Nations and regional organizations.

In this context, I would like to confirm Ukraine's commitment to actively participate in the processes I have mentioned — in particular, to be a part of the OSCE observation mission, and also to contribute, to the extent possible, to the joint efforts of the international community to achieve the post-conflict reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Finally, I would like to stress once again that future cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE may and should be the most important factor in the successful building and functioning of the comprehensive collective security system both in a new Europe and in the world as a whole.

I would also like to state that Ukraine will do its utmost to strengthen and further this cooperation.

Mr. Fedotov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian)*: The Russian Federation has consistently adhered to the fundamental policy of strengthening and developing interaction between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) — a regional arrangement as described in Chapter VIII of the Charter. We consider enhancing the effectiveness of cooperation between the two organizations to be an important component in the establishment of a stable, post-confrontational international system.

Russia welcomes the decision of the Budapest Summit of the OSCE Council of Ministers, held on 7 and 8 December this year, on further development of relations between the United Nations and the OSCE.

We commend the Secretary-General's report (A/50/564), which presents an objective picture of the specific steps to be taken with regard to developing relations between the United Nations and the OSCE.

Russia fully shares the report's conclusion that further strengthening of the coordination of activities between the United Nations and the OSCE would promote more effective use of the international community's limited resources allocated to carry out the tasks assigned to both organizations. This primarily refers to making optimum use of the functions and machinery for coordination between the United Nations and the OSCE in today's main areas — preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building, as well as implementing the political and humanitarian aspects of security and development, including human rights, and the rights of national minorities, refugees and displaced persons. It is precisely in these areas that both Organizations have accumulated an inspiring operational capacity, expertise and legal basis that, if rationally combined and divided between them, would make it possible to substantially improve work done in the search for effective responses to international challenges.

Russia favours the establishment of a practical capacity for the OSCE, which would promote the establishment of the Organization as a central institution for ensuring European security and stability. Until recently the activities of the OSCE were mainly focused on the peaceful settlement of disputes, preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping. While supporting these activities, we feel that they should be fully in line with the goals and principles of the Charter and the role of the Security Council.

At the same time, Russia has always maintained that peace-keeping was not the OSCE's only area of activity in the field of security. On the basis of our initiative, the ministerial Summit of the OSCE held in Budapest approved a decision on the elaboration of a new model of general and comprehensive security for the Europe of the twenty-first century. In keeping with its decisions, other Organizations, including the United Nations, are invited to contribute to the practical work on the model. The expert contribution of the United Nations, whose representatives have already participated in the official seminar of the OSCE on the security model, would be very valuable at a time when preparations are under way for the Lisbon Summit of the OSCE, to be held in 1996, at which an interim summary of the discussions on the model will be presented.

The nature, form and scope of interaction between the United Nations and the OSCE should respond to the main task of developing comprehensive cooperation between the United Nations and other international organizations, and should be guided primarily by the international legal norms laid down in the Charter.

The Russian delegation notes with satisfaction that the daily interaction between the United Nations and the OSCE in the field of peace-keeping has been developing in a highly productive manner in the territory of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and, in particular, as regards the settlement of conflicts in Abkhazia, the Republic of Georgia and Tajikistan. Russia, together with its CIS partners, will continue to actively support that positive process, because of the importance of actively assisting peace-keeping efforts by the United Nations and the OSCE in the CIS area.

Russia has actively participated in OSCE efforts to promote a settlement of the Nagorny Karabakh conflict. As co-Chairman of the Minsk Conference, we, together with our Finnish co-Chairman and with the support of the other participants in the Minsk Group, have been making every effort to ensure a breakthrough in the negotiations to rapidly conclude a political agreement to end the armed conflict. We note with satisfaction the cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE aimed at bringing about a peaceful settlement of this extremely complex, chronic conflict, and we count on having that process developed further.

The President took the Chair.

I believe that further implementation of the existing informal agreement on the rational division of labour between the United Nations and OSCE is particularly timely in view of the recent significant progress towards a settlement in the conflict on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Implementing the package of measures included in the Agreement for Peace on Bosnia, as we can already see, will be an ongoing, multi-stage process requiring the productive involvement of many leading multilateral organizations and mechanisms.

In Russia's opinion, the post-conflict settlement in Bosnia and throughout the former Yugoslavia can become the most important area of cooperation between the United Nations and OSCE, especially in the humanitarian field. We believe that as it develops, a common model can and must be devised to delimit responsibility and establish a kind of division of labour between the United Nations and OSCE in the areas I have mentioned. This would give effect to the Secretary-General's directive, in his report, on

> "The avoidance of duplicative or overlapping mandates" (*A/50/564, para. 13*)

in the two Organizations so that they can be effectively coordinated.

Russia commends the basic thrust of OSCE participation in the post-conflict reconstruction of the Bosnian region, as agreed upon at the international level, including at the meeting of the OSCE Council of Foreign Ministers in Budapest and at the London Conference, with regard to implementing the peace agreements on Bosnia. We are convinced that the OSCE will be able to make a serious and useful contribution, in particular, to the holding of elections in Bosnia, to helping guarantee human rights and the rights of minorities, and to establishing a normal civil society in Bosnia.

At the same time, it is our opinion that without the broad experience and expertise of the United Nations, it would be hard for OSCE to carry out its role in post-conflict Yugoslavia. It is possible, and it makes sense, to clearly define in practice the authority of the United Nations and OSCE in this area according to the comparative advantages of each Organization.

One further consideration, we believe, is that in view of the significant and positive contribution made by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the peace process, it is time to allow that Republic to participate again in both OSCE and a range of United Nations bodies.

This year important precedents have been set for holding consultations and exchanging information on humanitarian and economic problems using a tripartite format that includes United Nations Programmes and Offices in Geneva, OSCE and the Council of Europe. This practice must be developed further. At the same time, Russia believes that it would be useful to provide for machinery for mandatory contact between countries directly affected by problems being considered.

Russia intends to continue to promote, and has a vested interest in helping to increase, the effectiveness and practical results of cooperation between the United Nations and OSCE. We are open to any further constructive ideas and proposals in this regard that would supplement what the Secretary-General has said in his report. We hope that the draft resolution before the General Assembly on this subject, of which the Russian Federation is a sponsor, will provide extra momentum to work in this area.

Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Iceland, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Malta, Norway, Poland and Romania associate themselves with this statement.

The European Union fully supports draft resolution A/50/L.62, now before the General Assembly, of which all the members of the European Union are sponsors. The European Union, through Hungary, as Chairman-in-Office, has actively participated in drawing up the draft resolution with the help of the troika of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

The European Union supports greater cooperation between the United Nations and regional arrangements and organizations. In view of the increased challenges and tasks facing the United Nations, this kind of cooperation will benefit both sides and the States involved.

A clear example of such cooperation that includes an informal division of labour is the relationship between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The report of the

Secretary-General contained in document A/50/564 proves that this cooperation is increasingly effective and fruitful. There is still room for increasing and developing this relationship. One possible way of doing so is pointed out in the document that came out of the recent OSCE Summit in Budapest, in which the participating States agreed that they could, in exceptional circumstances, jointly decide that a dispute should be referred to the Security Council on behalf of OSCE.

The activities of OSCE, such as the promotion of confidence-building measures in a military context, fact-finding missions, crisis management and electoral assistance, complement United Nations efforts to maintain and promote international peace and security. In some cases, such as in Tajikistan and the Caucasus, cooperation between the two Organizations is more structured.

The European Union attaches special importance to the principles and commitments of OSCE. Respect for these principles and commitments, which in some cases set higher standards than those established in United Nations documents, provides the basis of the activities of the Organization. In this sense, the very existence of OSCE enhances prospects for regional action in line with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter.

OSCE is particularly active in the field of early warning, conflict prevention and crisis management in its area, which stretches from Vancouver to Vladivostok. Its comprehensive approach to security, which includes human, economic and military dimensions, allows it to tackle the problems in its area in an effective and enduring way. OSCE combines short- and long-term approaches. The former is necessary to forestall the immediate eruption of a conflict, while the latter impresses upon us that solutions to many problems require sustained effort: there are no quick solutions.

There are various instruments of fundamental importance for preventing conflict in the OSCE area. The Senior Council and the Permanent Council provide a forum for political consultations and ensure coherence and proper orientation in the range of OSCE activities.

The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights also makes a valuable contribution. In the field of election monitoring, the United Nations and the Office are establishing guidelines for close and effective cooperation. Long-term missions in the field, with their various mandates, play an essential role in establishing confidence and a climate for peace at the local level. They are the eyes and ears of OSCE. In addition to continuing the activities of existing missions, OSCE is facing up to the following current challenges: the former Yugoslavia, Nagorny Karabakh and Chechnya.

With regard to the former Yugoslavia, the European Union welcomes the signing on 14 December 1995 at the Paris Peace Conference of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The European Union has consistently called for a peaceful solution to that painful conflict. We wish to reaffirm our decision to make a substantial contribution to assist all the parties concerned in implementing the provisions of the Agreement for Peace.

The European Union will fully support OSCE in carrying out the tasks entrusted to it by the parties to the Dayton Peace Agreement. The European Union will also fully support the OSCE mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the supervision and monitoring of free, fair and democratic elections, as well as in other aspects related to the building of a democratic society based on the rule of law and on respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The European Union will make a significant contribution to this work through the European Union monitoring mission.

The European Union likewise supports all other OSCE efforts in this area and wishes to reiterate in particular its support for the principle of establishing a long-term mission in Croatia, whose presence will undoubtedly prove most useful in the promotion of human rights and of the coexistence of the various ethnic communities.

As regards Nagorny Karabakh, the technical cooperation and political support that the United Nations is providing for the Minsk process, including the possible establishment of a peace-keeping operation led by OSCE, is a good example of practical cooperation between the two Organizations. The Minsk process remains the sole forum for the settlement of the conflict, and the European Union offers the Finnish and Russian Co-Chairmen of the Minsk Conference its full support in their efforts to conclude negotiations on a political agreement. We hope that the present commitments to initiate direct contacts, in coordination with the Co-Chairmen, will give fresh impetus to the negotiations.

The European Union fully supports the search for a political solution to the conflict in Chechnya. It sees an important role for the OSCE assistance group, which must work under extremely difficult circumstances. In respect of the attainment of this goal, the European Union is concerned over the lack of progress in the negotiating process and the continued suspension of the talks on implementing the military agreement.

In addition, the European Union supports the open debate on a common global security model for Europe in the twenty-first century, which has been designated a major objective of the 1996 Lisbon conference, as well as the Pact on Stability in Europe, which the OSCE is responsible for monitoring.

The European Union appreciates the enhanced contribution of OSCE in promoting respect for human rights in its region. The latest OSCE Conference on the Human Dimension took place in Warsaw last 2 to 19 October. We also wish to highlight the work of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights and that of the High Commissioner on National Minorities, which show how successful preventive diplomacy can be in the field of ethnic relations.

The European Union also wishes to stress the importance it attaches to dialogue with non-participating countries, especially the Mediterranean Cooperation Partners.

Finally, the European Union wishes to express its appreciation for the valuable work done by the Permanent Representative of Hungary and his delegation in the capacity of Chairman-in-Office of OSCE and to welcome the Ambassador of Switzerland as incoming Chairman-in-Office. The European Union is committed to lending him and his delegation its full cooperation in the year to come. By the same token, we support the draft decision contained in document A/50/L.63.

Mr. Jusys (Lithuania): Lithuania has aligned itself with the statement by the European Union and welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Given present-day global concerns, which require rapid-reaction capabilities as well as effective organizational structures, we recognize the need for increased cooperation between the United Nations and OSCE. Coordination through joint or complementary actions in preventive diplomacy, crisis management, arms control and disarmament, as well as post-crisis stabilization and rehabilitation measures will promote the attainment of our goals in the common pursuit of international peace and security.

We request the Secretary-General to continue further discussions in that regard, including those on the division of labour, with the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE. Lithuania notes and welcomes the trilateral consultations begun last year between the United Nations offices and programmes in Geneva, the OSCE and the Council of Europe which have extended beyond information-sharing to responsibility-sharing with the aim of avoiding duplication and of making the best possible use of limited resources.

As a regional arrangement in the sense of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, the OSCE provides an important link between European and global security. This link is essential in the light of the ongoing work of the OSCE on a common and comprehensive security model for Europe for the next century, particularly as the work moves into a more operational phase and the working relationship with the United Nations intensifies. We endorse the Ministerial Council decision on this concept, which notes that within the OSCE:

> "no State, organization or grouping can have any superior responsibility for maintaining peace and stability in the OSCE region, or regard any part of the OSCE region as its sphere of influence".

The OSCE security concept is a cooperative one based on genuine partnership, free of dividing lines, and on full respect for

> "the inherent right of each and every participating State to be free to choose or change its security arrangements, including treaties of alliance, as they evolve." (A/49/800, annex, Budapest decision VII, "A common and comprehensive security model for Europe for the twenty-first century", first paragraph)

Thus, transparency in cooperative approaches to security challenges and risks is of great importance to Lithuania, especially with the end of cold war alliances. As regional and trans-Atlantic organizations adapt to a new world order and seek to strengthen confidence, security and stability in the OSCE region, we believe in the value of continued dialogue with neighbouring countries on the key elements of an emerging European security architecture: North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) enlargement and European Union expansion.

Lithuania is making its contribution to this transparent and democratic process by actively participating in the Baltic round-table of the Pact on Stability in Europe. We support the continuation of this work within the OSCE framework as a valuable tool for addressing regional issues and for implementing the multitude of agreements included in the Pact. Lithuania also supports OSCE plans to keep an informal list of risks and challenges to security updated. This list could also strengthen the United Nations Secretariat's early-warning capacity, especially in identifying situations likely to endanger peace and security in the European continent.

Lithuania believes it must build upon the regional approach offered by the OSCE in the area of peace-keeping. It welcomes United Nations readiness to provide technical advice and expertise and political support for the possible deployment of multinational peace-keeping forces in the OSCE region following agreement among the parties for a cessation of armed conflicts.

United Nations-OSCE cooperation can also enhance the dramatic and demonstrable progress being made for the first time in decades in arms control and disarmament affairs. Momentum should not be lost on these matters in international and regional forums. The Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe has had some success in downsizing the major conventional arsenals of Europe, but problems do persist in implementation of the Treaty and more work needs to be done on the flank issues. I should like to stress that this is of particular concern to Lithuania in the light of the high concentration of conventional arms and military personnel at our borders and in the region in general.

Experience shows that complementary efforts and joint actions between the United Nations and OSCE can be effective. The Helsinki process, which helped set the stage for many of the positive developments and trends in East-West relations in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, has grown into a comprehensive approach to security, which includes both human and economic dimensions. Far-reaching United Nations and OSCE programmes for economic, social and humanitarian progress are being enhanced within the framework of cooperation as each Organization has provided support to the efforts of the other. It is Lithuania's view that these activities, particularly those that strengthen democratization processes and the development of civil society, should be consolidated. We welcome further coordination between the United Nations Office at Geneva, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Economic Commission for Europe and the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, as well as the Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights.

Recognition of the important role the OSCE has to play is evidenced by its involvement in the implementation, pursuant to the Dayton Agreement, of peace-building activities in the former Yugoslavia, particularly in the fields of electoral assistance, human rights monitoring, arms control and confidence-building and security-building measures.

The OSCE missions and field operations are an important part of the preventive diplomacy network. They provide expert advice in the areas of democracy-building and human rights. We value the OSCE efforts at quiet diplomacy as a means for facilitating democratic change and development in a non-confrontational way.

Lithuania also sees the value of long-term presence where OSCE can play a key mediating role between warring parties to a conflict. In conflict situations, coordinated humanitarian operations are essential. The active participation and consolidated action of relevant United Nations entities, particularly the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, and OSCE institutions will ensure the best possible use of resources made available by Governments to international organizations to carry out their mandates.

We take this opportunity to recognize and acknowledge the outstanding work done by our Hungarian colleagues in their capacity as Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE. Lithuania stands ready to cooperate with the incoming Chairman, the Ambassador of Switzerland, during his term in office next year.

Mr. Halatchev (Bulgaria): I take the floor with immense satisfaction and an awareness of the significance of this topic for the present and future efforts of the international community to safeguard and promote peace, security and stability. My country associates itself with the statement made by the representative of Spain on behalf of the European Union and associated countries, and is a sponsor of the draft resolution on this item (A/50/L.62).

The enhanced capacity of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in the field of early warning, preventive action and crisis management has opened new opportunities for joint action of the two organizations. The OSCE has gained useful experience in expanding its preventive and peace-making activities in close cooperation and coordination with the United Nations. The experience gained in this process and the ever-increasing need for a more systematic approach to the cooperation of the United Nations with regional organizations has brought about substantial achievements. In this connection we share the opinion that the practice of meetings of the United Nations with regional organizations should be continued in order to provide a valuable opportunity for regular contacts and exchange.

The ideas and recommendations of the Secretary-General relating to the issues of coordination with regional organizations put forward in his report "Supplement to An Agenda for Peace" are a useful contribution to the ongoing dialogue aimed at the improvement of our capacity to forestall, prevent and manage crises threatening international peace and security. My country continues to be active in this effort, both in the United Nations and in the OSCE.

An area that has been gaining special importance in recent times is that of coordination between the two organizations in addressing the key task of post-conflict peace-building in the OSCE's territory, especially with regard to the region of south-eastern Europe. A number of problems resulting from the conflict in the territory of the former Yugoslavia would best be solved if they became a matter of concern for and common action by the United Nations, the OSCE and other competent international institutions and organizations.

Bulgaria welcomes the signing, on 14 December at the Paris Peace Conference, of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We fully support the important role assigned to the OSCE in implementing the tasks set out in the Dayton Peace Agreement.

One area where the OSCE should play a key role is the achievement of an agreement on arms control in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. It is of the utmost importance to prevent a new arms race in the region, following the lifting of the arms embargo. The OSCE should encourage negotiations with a view to achieving an agreement between the parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as an agreement on the desired balance of armaments between Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, within the agreed frameworks. The establishment of national limits on armed forces and armaments for the three States is a first step towards broader agreement on regional stability in and around the former Yugoslavia, including limits on the armaments and personnel strengths of all States in the region.

Bulgaria is ready to participate constructively in such negotiations on regional stabilization and to assume rights and obligations stemming from future agreements in this field, on the understanding that existing limitations on armaments, equipment and personnel strength established for Bulgaria by the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe will not be renegotiated. Bulgaria is willing to contribute to enhancing transparency and predictability on a regional basis through the development of regional confidence-building and security-building measures going beyond the provisions of the Vienna Document of 1994.

Bulgaria underlines the primary significance of building and consolidating democracy in the former Yugoslavia. It stands ready to provide experts for the long-term OSCE mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

My country reiterates its keen interest in taking an active part in post-conflict reconstruction in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, which is of vital importance to the future economic development of the whole region. We have taken steps to contribute to interregional economic cooperation in the OSCE context of stability and security. We believe that the seminar, which we hosted in Sofia in mid-November, on the role of trans-European infrastructure for security and cooperation in the Black Sea region, developed into a successful pilot project in this regard. We encourage active contributions to the follow-up to the conclusions of that seminar.

Mr. Chirila (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is a remarkably dynamic exercise, both in substance and in ways of defining the framework for interaction between the two organizations.

As the Secretary-General's report (A/50/564) says, the OSCE's observer status and the framework agreement concluded in 1993 between the Secretary-General and the Chairman-in-Office of the pan-European organization provide a permanent institutional basis for cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and the OSCE. One of the most dynamic factors, both within the OSCE and in the context of interaction between the United Nations and the OSCE, is the European Union. The statement made here by the representative of Spain on behalf of the European Union — a statement that my delegation fully endorses — attests to this.

However, I should like to put forward some more specific ideas of particular interest to my delegation.

For Romania, as well as for other countries of the central European region, hopes for real stability and security depend essentially on the integration of political, security and economic Euro-Atlantic structures — the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the European Union and the Western European Union. Developing a strategy with a supple and cohesive approach to the partnership relations between NATO, the European Union, the OSCE and the United Nations — each with its responsibilities, powers and mode of conduct — is of vital importance to Euro-Atlantic security and is beneficial to the system of collective security based on the Charter of the United Nations.

As the Secretary-General emphasizes in his report, dialogue between the United Nations and the OSCE to achieve better definition of priorities, spheres of competence and specific lines of action, in order to ensure mutually beneficial effectiveness, is of particular importance. The recent OSCE ministerial meeting in Budapest made new moves in this direction. One notes that there has been progress, particularly in the area of preventive-diplomacy functions, but also that these functions should be exercised more effectively.

There has not yet been any notable progress as a result of the activities of the OSCE missions in Chechnya, Nagorny Karabakh, the Republic of Moldova and other conflict areas. In Chechnya, for example, agreements are not being respected; in Nagorny Karabakh, we are still practically where we started with regard to the establishment of multilateral peace-keeping forces; and there are still foreign troops stationed in the Republic of Moldova, even though commitments for their withdrawal have been made and reiterated.

In the context of the economic and humanitarian dimensions of pan-European cooperation, we note dwindling interest on the part of a number of States. There is a tendency to ignore some commitments, such as those regarding freedom of movement, personal contacts and cultural, technical and scientific exchanges. One undoubtedly feels that there is scope for a better distribution and coordination of efforts and responsibilities between the various European institutions with a similar profile.

The coordination consultations scheduled to take place in Geneva next January may make possible, for example, consideration of explicit options for cooperation between the OSCE and the United Nations, with a view, on one hand, to establishing priority areas and identifying specific problems of each of the organizations and, on the other hand, to developing practical means of cooperation.

The Pact on Stability in Europe, the follow-up to which is provided by the OSCE, is a useful exercise, which, it seems to us, merits retention as an institution of good-neighbourliness, not just for the participants in regional round tables but also for all States parties to the Pact. A pressing need is for this institution of good-neighbourliness and preventive diplomacy to be extended speedily to the area of the former Yugoslavia. In this connection, at the recent OSCE ministerial meeting we suggested that a round table on this subject be organized for that region. The time has come to assess, within the framework of the OSCE, the status of cooperation projects included in the Pact under the generic title "Associated measures". Romania is ready to submit and to consider with other States of the region, in the framework of follow-up to the Pact, its own initiative to ensure historic reconciliation with Hungary.

The Dayton Agreement, just signed in Paris, opens up real prospects for security and stability in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and for new foundations for cooperation between the States of the region.

Above and beyond the military aspect covered by the multinational force, the ability to shoulder responsibilities and carry out a very important mandate for the success of the future peace process — supervising the preparation and holding of elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, monitoring the human rights situation, fostering negotiations to establish regional stability and to establish machinery to enhance confidence and security — is an unprecedented challenge that the OSCE will not be able to face up to without particularly sustained efforts of cooperation and close, effective and timely coordination with the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and all other organizations and institutions involved.

Romania has stated that it is ready to participate in OSCE missions and operations in the area of the former Yugoslavia and to lead one of those missions. My country stands ready to contribute to the establishment of an initial support fund for OSCE activities in the former Yugoslavia.

It seems particularly important to us that the group formed within the OSCE to carry out these operations consult all the States directly concerned before taking decisions. It would be useful and necessary for all countries involved to participate in OSCE decision-making regarding the territory of the former Yugoslavia, which would mean readmitting the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the OSCE. Romania has decided to develop more actively its relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to establish diplomatic relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina, to open a diplomatic mission in Sarajevo and to upgrade the level of its diplomatic representation in Belgrade and other capitals of the region. My country supports the reintegration of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into international organizations and regional and subregional cooperation. We believe that a regional round table — in the framework provided by the follow-up to the Pact on Stability in Europe — for the countries in the area of the former Yugoslavia, with the participation of other States of the region, as well as other concerned States, would be a welcome step. We hope that historical reconciliation will become a viable institution in the context of the follow-up to the Pact on Stability in Europe so that good neighbourliness can be consolidated throughout the European continent.

The Dayton Agreement also advocates the preparation of a programme of assistance for economic reconstruction, with international financing. We believe that it would be appropriate for economic reconstruction to be expanded throughout south-eastern Europe, given the consequences of sanctions on the neighbouring countries of the former Yugoslavia. Geographical proximity and economic complementarity recommend Romania as a valid potential partner in the process of economic reconstruction in the area of south-eastern Europe.

Draft resolution A/50/L.62, introduced with great eloquence by Ambassador André Erdös, the representative of Hungary, which has been Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE, fully reflects the remarkable dynamics of the OSCE approach to the international scene, as well as of the cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and the OSCE. As a sponsor of the draft resolution, my delegation hopes that it will be adopted by consensus. We also support draft decision A/50/L.63, intended to ensure the continuity of the OSCE mandate *vis-à-vis* the United Nations under the Swiss chairmanship in 1996.

Mr. Kouliev (Azerbaijan) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Azerbaijani Republic welcomes the General Assembly's consideration today of the draft resolution on cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). We consider this further proof of the ever increasing contributions of the OSCE to the establishment and maintenance of peace and security throughout the entire OSCE area, from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

Azerbaijan warmly hails the signing four days ago in Paris of the historic General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Annexes thereto by the Presidents of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as the signing of the Basic Agreement on the Region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium of 12 November 1995, and we strongly believe that the early implementation of these Agreements as a result of, *inter alia*, cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE, will bring long-awaited peace and stability to all States and peoples of this part of the world.

Azerbaijan highly commends the growing and strengthening interaction between the two Organizations in such crucial fields as preventive diplomacy, settlement of regional conflicts, peace-keeping, humanitarian activities, monitoring of human rights, election monitoring and implementation of sanctions regimes. The report (A/50/564) of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on the implementation of last year's resolution 49/13 is extremely useful in this regard.

I would like also to take note with satisfaction of the concrete efforts undertaken during the past year, as reflected in the report of the Secretary-General, to develop cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE in the settlement of the conflict in the Nagorny Karabakh region of the Azerbaijani Republic.

The Secretary-General was represented at meetings of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Minsk Group and in September 1995 he dispatched a goodwill mission to the region in support of the OSCE efforts. In addition, the two organizations have been in close contact concerning the technical aspects of a possible OSCE peace-keeping mission in the region of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.

I take this opportunity to underline the positive roles played in the course of this year by Hungary as the State holding the chairmanship of the OSCE in 1995, as well as by the Russian Federation and Finland, as the co-Chairmen of the Minsk conference, in the search for ways to a peaceful settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. The Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE, Mr. S. Przygodzki of Poland, should also be commended for his efforts to ensure permanent contact between the parties to the conflict and the OSCE.

The Azerbaijani Republic also reiterates its full support for the activities of the OSCE aimed at achieving a peaceful solution to the conflict in and around the Nagorny Karabakh region of the Azerbaijani Republic and to alleviating remaining tensions between the Republic of Armenia and the Azerbaijan Republic pursuant to Security Council resolutions 822 (1993), 853 (1993), 874 (1993) and 884 (1993).

We also support the negotiations under the co-chairmanship of the Minsk Conference to conclude a political agreement on the cessation of the armed conflict in the spirit of the Budapest Summit of 1994 and of the recent OSCE Council of Ministers, and we welcome cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE in this regard.

In conclusion, I would like to state once again that Azerbaijan was, remains and will continue to be committed to the political settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict and, in this connection, I would like to refer to the words of the President of the Azerbaijani Republic, Mr. Heydar Aliyev, when he addressed the Special Commemorative Meeting of the General Assembly:

> "... we condemn all types of aggression in any part of the world. We want peace: peace in the whole world, peace in our region, and peace and good neighbourly relations with all States". *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Fiftieth Session, Plenary Meetings,* 36th meeting, p. 6)

Mr. Celem (Turkey): As a participating State of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), we are particularly pleased that the General Assembly is once again considering the important issue of "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe" under agenda item 30.

In this respect, we thank the Secretary-General for his valuable report on this item and reiterate our firm support for his efforts to foster the institutionalization of cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE.

We would also like to express our gratitude to the members of the OSCE troika, namely Hungary, Italy and Switzerland, for their efforts in drafting the resolution which is before us today. We actively participated in the informal consultations on the draft resolution and joined other delegations as sponsors.

With the advent of the post-cold-war era, new regional approaches for preventing and dealing with conflicts around the world have been set in motion. However, certain developments continue to lead us to a rather pessimistic assessment of the general political climate in the OSCE area. Security and stability are still threatened by continuing and new armed conflicts. Aggression and territorial acquisition by force continue to exist with impunity. We are still far from the restoration of legitimacy and international legality in the entire region of the Caucasus. The conflict in Tajikistan is threatening peace and stability in the region. In the Balkans, time will tell if hope becomes a reality. Despite the recent promising developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina, problems remain to be addressed in Kosovo, the Sandžak and Vojvodina.

Although significant steps have been taken by the OSCE towards further strengthening its structure and mechanisms, we are still far from dealing adequately with the grave violations of international law.

The ample creative thinking which has gone into addressing these questions in the last few years has yet to bear fruit regarding the need for a new and clear strategy to deal with ongoing conflicts in an effective and lasting manner.

The challenges we face today are far beyond the means and resources of the United Nations, which cannot alone respond effectively and adequately to the ever-growing urgency of maintaining peace and security around the globe. Accordingly, we firmly believe that there is an imminent need for a collective security architecture of mutually reinforcing institutions in which all elements will have a role to play. In this respect, the OSCE is playing a fundamental role in the maintenance of peace and security as well as fostering democracy and respect for human rights in its vast area of responsibility extending from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

We believe there is a great potential for further strengthened cooperation between our two organizations within the framework of the Charter and of the fundamental documents of the OSCE. We would like to emphasize in particular the 1992 Helsinki Document, the Decisions of the Budapest Summit of 1994, as well as the Decisions of the most recent Budapest Ministerial Council of 1995, where, among other things, principles and procedures for OSCE peace-keeping activities were established and reaffirmed.

We regard the decisions on potential OSCE peace-keeping activities in its area of responsibility as a step in the right direction. Nevertheless, we believe that, as participating States, we have not yet been able firmly to demonstrate our political will to implement many of our decisions to this effect. Our efforts have largely remained limited to small-scale activities in the area of preventive diplomacy.

However, I must reiterate our particular satisfaction with the encouraging developments in the area of OSCE peace-keeping. A case in point is the conflict in and around the Nagorny Karabakh region of the Azerbaijani Republic and the tension between Armenia and Azerbaijan. As is well known, the OSCE Minsk Group has been striving to achieve a solution to this problem for the past three years. As a member of this group from its inception, we have actively participated in its efforts. We fully support the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE and the Co-Chairmen of the Minsk Conference in their efforts. We continue to believe that the OSCE, in general, and the Minsk Group, in particular, continue to be the appropriate mechanisms through which an acceptable and just solution can be found and that all efforts within the OSCE should be directed towards supporting those of the Minsk Group. In this regard, we welcome the particular reference in the draft resolution before us to last year's General Assembly resolution 49/13, where the activities of the OSCE in this area were fully supported by the General Assembly.

In this respect, we welcome the most recent decision adopted at the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Budapest held on 7 and 8 December 1995, by which the earlier decision of the Budapest Summit of 1994 to establish an OSCE peace-keeping force to be deployed in the Nagorny Karabakh region of the Azerbaijani Republic was reaffirmed.

We believe we are on the threshold of a major development with regard to the role to be played by OSCE as a regional organization acting within the framework of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. By setting a precedent in the peace-keeping activities of OSCE, the deployment of an OSCE peace-keeping force to the Nagorny Karabakh region of Azerbaijan will, in our view, be a crucial test for the participating States to reaffirm their will to give new impetus to their common endeavour, which is to pursue peace and legitimacy in the area of responsibility of OSCE, as stipulated in the relevant documents of the Organization.

We welcome the reference made in the draft resolution to the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, signed in Paris on 14 December 1995, and the Basic Agreement on the Region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium, signed on 12 November 1995. In this respect, we highly value OSCE norms and principles as important building blocks to establish and further develop democracy and respect for human rights in the whole region.

However, we regret that calls by the international community, as set out in Security Council resolution 855 (1993), for the return of OSCE missions to Kosovo and the Sandžak and Vojvodina regions of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) at the earliest possible time remained unanswered by the Serbian authorities. Consequently, we welcome the fact that the draft resolution before us reiterates the significant contribution that OSCE missions have made to the maintenance of stability in Kosovo, the Sandžak and Vojvodina. We consider the reference made in the draft resolution before us to Security Council resolution 855 (1993) as renewed testimony by United Nations Member States of their support for the continuation of OSCE missions in the former Yugoslavia.

In conclusion, let me reiterate our firm belief that the activities of the United Nations and those of the OSCE are mutually reinforcing and complementary in nature. To this effect, we reckon that the United Nations continues to play the central role in the maintenance of peace and security around the world. Thus, the scope of cooperation between the two Organizations should, in our view, entail a division of labour which could culminate in a new form of collective security architecture in the future. In this respect, we attach particular importance to the ongoing efforts within the Organization to elaborate a common and comprehensive security model for the Europe of the twenty-first century and, to this effect, welcome the reference contained in the draft resolution.

The President: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/50/L.62 and on draft decision A/50/L.63.

The Assembly will first turn to draft resolution A/50/L.62.

May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution A/50/L.62?

Draft resolution A/50/L.62 was adopted (resolution 50/87).

The President: The Assembly will now turn to draft decision A/50/L.63.

May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt draft decision A/50/L.63?

The draft decision was adopted.

The President: May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 30?

It was so decided.

Organization of work

The President: Before calling on the next speaker, I would like to seek the cooperation of delegations on the matter of punctuality.

As we are entering the last week of this part of the fiftieth session of the General Assembly, the Assembly will have to take many decisions. As Members are aware, for any decision to be taken by the Assembly, a quorum is required. This morning, for lack of a quorum and owing to the absence of scheduled speakers, the plenary meeting of the Assembly started only at 10.35 a.m.

I would therefore like to remind delegations that punctuality is of the utmost importance in order to ensure an effective and orderly organization of the work of the Assembly and to achieve economies for the United Nations. I strongly endorse the practical suggestions that were made at previous sessions for each delegation to designate someone to be present at the scheduled time. I genuinely hope that all delegations will cooperate.

Programme of work

The President: I should like to clarify the programme of work for Tuesday, 19 December, in the afternoon.

As the first item, the Assembly will take up sub-item (g) of agenda item 17, "Appointment of a member of the Joint Inspection Unit".

As the second item, the Assembly will consider sub-item (d) of agenda item 20, "Emergency international assistance for peace, normalcy and reconstruction of war-stricken Afghanistan", together with agenda item 54, "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security".

As the third item, the Assembly will take up the aspect of sub-item (b) of agenda item 20 concerning special emergency assistance for the economic recovery and reconstruction of Burundi, together with agenda item 26, "The situation in Burundi".

As the fourth item, the Assembly will resume consideration of sub-items (b) and (c) of agenda item 20, entitled, respectively, "Special economic assistance to individual countries or regions" and "Strengthening of international cooperation and coordination of efforts to study, mitigate and minimize the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster", for the purpose of taking action on draft resolutions A/50/L.41/Rev.1, A/50/L.54 and A/50/L.56/Rev.1, submitted under sub-item (b), and on draft resolution A/50/L.26/Rev.1, submitted under sub-item (c).

As the fifth item, the Assembly will take up the report of the Fifth Committee on sub-item (b) of agenda item 122, concerning the financing of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon.

As the sixth item, the Assembly will take up the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 133, "Financing of the United Nations Mission in Haiti".

I should also like to remind members that, as previously announced, the reports of the Second Committee will be taken up on Wednesday, 20 December, in the morning.

In addition, on Thursday, 21 December, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up the reports of the Third Committee.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

United Nations A/50/PV.95

General Assembly
Fiftieth Session

Official Records

95th plenary meeting
Tuesday, 19 December 1995, 3 p.m.
New York

President: Mr. Freitas do Amaral . . . . (Portugal)

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

Agenda item 17 *(continued)*

Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments

(g) Appointment of a member of the Joint Inspection Unit

Note by the President of the General Assembly (A/50/817)

The President: As indicated in document A/50/817, the General Assembly, by its decision 49/321 of 23 December 1994, appointed four members of the Joint Inspection Unit for a five-year term of office beginning on 1 January 1996 and expiring on 31 December 2000. Subsequently, the Secretary-General was informed that one such member, Mr. Ali Badara Tall, of Burkina Faso, had submitted his resignation on 17 October 1995 before commencing his term of office, which would have started on 1 January 1996 and expired on 31 December 2000.

The General Assembly is accordingly required, at the fiftieth session, to appoint a person to serve as a member of the Joint Inspection Unit for a five-year term of office beginning on 1 January 1996 and expiring on 31 December 2000.

In accordance with the procedures described in article 3, paragraph 1, of the statute of the Joint Inspection Unit, having consulted the regional group concerned, and on the basis of a candidature submitted by the African States, I have determined that Burkina Faso should be requested to propose a candidate to replace Mr. Tall.

As further indicated in document A/50/817, as a result of consultations in accordance with article 3, paragraph 2, of the statute of the Joint Inspection Unit, including consultations with the President of the Economic and Social Council and with the Secretary-General in his capacity as Chairman of the Administrative Committee on Coordination, I now submit to the Assembly the candidature of Mr. Louis Dominique Ouedraogo, of Burkina Faso, for appointment as a member of the Joint Inspection Unit for a term of office commencing on 1 January 1996 and expiring on 31 December 2000.

May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to appoint the candidate?

It was so decided.

The President: The Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of sub-item (g) of agenda item 17.

Before starting consideration of the next agenda items, in view of the large number of speakers on the list for this afternoon, I should like to appeal to the delegations concerned to limit their statements to a maximum of 10 minutes. I thank delegations in advance for their cooperation.

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one month of the date of the meeting*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, Room C-178. Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum.

Agenda items 20 *(continued)* **and 54**

(d) Emergency international assistance for peace, normalcy and reconstruction of war-stricken Afghanistan

The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security

Report of the Secretary-General (A/50/737)

Draft resolution (A/50/L.60)

Report of the Fifth Committee (A/50/825)

The President: The draft resolution before the Assembly, issued as document A/50/L.60, has two parts: part A is entitled "Emergency international assistance for peace, normalcy and reconstruction of war-stricken Afghanistan" and part B is entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security".

I now call on the representative of Germany to introduce draft resolution A/50/L.60.

Mr. Henze (Germany): Germany is pleased to introduce the draft resolution whose two parts are entitled "Emergency international assistance for peace, normalcy and reconstruction of war-stricken Afghanistan" and "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security".

The draft resolution is sponsored by the following Member States: Afghanistan, Armenia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Canada, China, Denmark, Egypt, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Morocco, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Spain, Sweden, Tajikistan, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, Uzbekistan, Viet Nam and Yemen.

My country has enjoyed a long history of friendly and intensive relations with all segments of Afghan society. We therefore feel honoured that, as at the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly, we were again able to work together with interested delegations on the texts now before us. In this respect, I would like to thank the delegations that participated in this exercise for their cooperation.

At the same time, we are deeply worried about the continuing civil war in Afghanistan, which has brought massive destruction upon the country and immeasurable grief upon its people. Civilian targets are being bombarded, massive violations of human rights are occurring and there is no end to the plight of the population.

While the developments on the ground in Afghanistan over the last 12 months may be cause for sadness, and while there may be frustration that more could not be accomplished in the search for peace, we must not give up hope that progress is possible, and we should strengthen our efforts to achieve such progress.

To do so, we should make an unvarnished assessment of the situation in Afghanistan. Also, we should try to be clear on what the international community can and should do to help and what can be accomplished only by the Afghan parties themselves. On this basis, we should define ways to support and further strengthen the efforts of the United Nations in Afghanistan.

The draft resolution I am introducing today follows this approach. It takes stock and gives an unvarnished assessment of the situation. The draft expresses deep concern about the lack of progress in reaching an agreement on the establishment of an acceptable and broadly representative mechanism, the transfer of power and an immediate and durable cease-fire. It also expresses deep concern about the consequences of 16 years of war, the prolongation and, in some regions, intensification of armed hostilities and violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. It affirms Afghanistan's need for continued international assistance and takes note of the extremely critical economic situation of this land-locked, least developed and war-stricken country.

The draft resolution urgently appeals to the international community, including the international financial institutions, to provide much-needed assistance for humanitarian and, as far as conditions on the ground permit, reconstruction purposes. It calls upon all States to promote peace in Afghanistan, to stop the flow of weapons to the parties and to put an end to this destructive conflict. At the same time, it calls upon all States to strictly refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and to respect the right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny.

The draft resolution also makes it clear that peace can only be achieved by the parties themselves. It urges the leaders of all Afghan parties to renounce the use of force and to settle their differences by peaceful means. It reiterates its call upon all Afghans, especially the leaders of the parties, to cooperate fully with the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan in establishing a broad-based authoritative council and to cooperate with this. It also states the close interrelationship between peace and normalcy in Afghanistan and the country's chances for economic development.

On the basis of this assessment of the situation in Afghanistan and the draft resolution's appeals to the international community and the Afghan parties, the draft resolution centres on extending strong support for the United Nations effort in Afghanistan. It welcomes the efforts of the United Nations Special Mission headed by Ambassador Mahmoud Mestiri. It underlines the importance of the urgent creation of a fully representative and broad-based authoritative council. It emphasizes the continuing need of the Special Mission for strong political support by the international community. Finally, it welcomes the decision of the Secretary-General to strengthen the Mission by stationing four additional political counsellors in Afghanistan.

We hope this draft resolution will be adopted by consensus. In doing so, the General Assembly would send a strong message of support to Afghanistan, would call upon the parties to end this terrible conflict and would call upon the international community and all States to do all they can to contribute to putting an end to the bloodshed. But, first and foremost, this resolution would extend an offer to the people and the parties in Afghanistan — an offer of strengthened support from the United Nations, both in the humanitarian and the political fields.

Finally, I would like to strongly urge all parties in Afghanistan to accept this offer and to make the best possible use of it. If they do so, I am convinced that progress towards peace and security and away from war and endless suffering, can and will eventually be achieved.

The President: I should like to propose that, if there is no objection, the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed at 3.45 this afternoon.

It was so decided.

The President: I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible.

Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran): The situation in Afghanistan continues to deteriorate, resulting in the continued killing of and injury to many innocent civilians, the displacement of thousands of people and widespread destruction of property in that war-stricken country. It was our fervent hope that, after the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and the establishment of an Islamic State in that country, Afghan parties and groups would set aside their differences and work towards the reconstruction of their country. But, unfortunately, more fighting replaced a period of calm, and the suffering of the people of Afghanistan has continued, especially in Kabul, whose people are suffering from both a hard winter and indiscriminate attacks against civilian targets.

The Islamic Republic of Iran, which has many things, as well as a long border, in common with the people of Afghanistan, has traditionally maintained close and friendly relations with that country. We are therefore gravely concerned about the situation there. Besides being host to millions of Afghan refugees and rendering humanitarian assistance to the Afghan people, my country has spared no effort to help various parties and groups inside Afghanistan to overcome their difficulties and differences. In that respect, we have repeatedly called upon all parties to agree on a durable cease-fire and a just and lasting political settlement.

Nevertheless, we are keenly aware of the sensitivity of the Afghan people with respect to foreign interference in their internal affairs and the imposition of any solution from outside, and we utterly respect and support their right to determine their own destiny. On this basis, our policy has focused on maintaining contact with the Government and all Afghan groups to persuade them to arrive at a solution through negotiations.

We firmly believe that what the people of Afghanistan need first and foremost is the support of the entire international community in bringing about a peaceful solution, acceptable to all parties, to this regrettable fratricidal war. For our part, we continue to use every opportunity to promote peace, and we shall continue to cooperate with our neighbours to help to achieve peace in Afghanistan, which will serve the best interests of all the people of the region.

The United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan, headed by Ambassador Mahmoud Mestiri, has played a crucial role in the efforts to bring peace and normality to Afghanistan. Ambassador Mestiri has our full support and cooperation in his difficult task. We also commend and support the efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in this regard. We hope that the close cooperation and coordination between the United Nations, the OIC and neighbouring countries will give added impetus to the peace process in Afghanistan.

The sad situation in Afghanistan has endangered the very basic rights of the innocent people of that country, who are living in an exceedingly difficult situation. As the Secretary-General points out in his report, the incidence of disease and malnutrition in some areas of the country is reaching alarming proportions. The need to address these poverty-related issues simultaneously with the rehabilitation of war-affected areas and reconstruction of the country is critical to improving the overall situation there and to achieving a sustainable development process.

We agree with the Secretary-General that the transition from humanitarian assistance to rehabilitation and development is not a linear process. Humanitarian assistance and rehabilitation must be pursued in parallel, with the longer-term development perspective always being kept in mind. It is in this context that an enduring commitment on the part of the international community to providing both humanitarian assistance and financial support is necessary in order to restore peace and prosperity to Afghanistan.

Since 1980 the Islamic Republic of Iran has been host to 2.5 million Afghan refugees, whom we have received and protected with a very high standard of treatment, based on our Islamic values and international commitments. Unfortunately, international assistance for these refugees and their repatriation has not been commensurate with the magnitude of the problems.

Since the establishment of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, we have been in close contact with its Government in order to facilitate the voluntary return of Afghan refugees to their homes. Thus far, about 1 million refugees have returned to their country voluntarily, and the process is being monitored through close coordination between the two Governments and related agencies of the United Nations.

However, the problem of millions of anti-personnel land-mines and unexploded ordnance in Afghanistan, as well as continuing armed hostilities in the country, may be preventing many Afghan refugees from returning to their homes. To ensure the safe and secure repatriation and resettlement of refugees, international cooperation and assistance to remove the existing obstacles is an absolute necessity.

Last year, in coordination with the World Health Organization, my country initiated a vaccination plan for Afghan children. It has distributed 8 million doses of vaccine throughout Afghanistan. In addition, Afghan medical groups have been trained in Iran, and hospitals and clinics have been established in certain areas of Afghanistan. We have also made arrangements to establish a Joint Commission to examine ways of more effectively controlling the flow of narcotics through the region and converting the poppy-growing areas in Afghanistan to the production of useful alternative crops that meet the basic needs of the Afghan people.

Besides all these initiatives, fuels, food and non-food assistance have been provided to the people of Afghanistan on an ongoing basis. This task will continue to be pursued with dedication and vigilance.

Finally, we hope that with the adoption of draft resolution A/50/L.60 the approach of the international community with regard to Afghanistan will enter a new phase. Today, Afghanistan is in dire need of our support to arrive at an immediate and durable cease-fire and to form an acceptable transitional government. Similarly, it needs our commitments to render all financial, technical and material assistance for the restoration of basic services, the reconstruction of Afghanistan, and the voluntary, safe and secure return of refugees and internally displaced persons to their homes. The Islamic Republic of Iran continues to do its utmost to contribute to these humanitarian endeavours.

Mr. Owada (Japan): Today Afghanistan finds itself in a tragic situation. The internal conflict in that country has been going on for more than 15 years. It has had disastrous consequences for the civilian population and has nearly destroyed the country's social infrastructure.

The situation in Afghanistan, if it continues in this way, could threaten the stability of the region to such an extent that the conflict, if left unattended, could spread to neighbouring countries. Indeed, it is my Government's conviction that the present situation demands the urgent attention of the international community. In particular, the vigilance of the United Nations is of immediate urgency. In this regard, the efforts of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan under Ambassador Mahmoud Mestiri and of the Secretary-General's Office in Afghanistan, to both of which I wish to pay high tribute, are of utmost importance for achieving peace and promoting national reconstruction and reconciliation in Afghanistan.

As an Asian country, Japan is gravely concerned about the present situation. We in Japan are particularly concerned that some foreign countries are providing the warring parties, directly or indirectly, with military weapons, ammunition and other forms of military-related assistance. This, we believe, is at least in part responsible for the prolongation of the very dangerous situation in Afghanistan. Japan calls upon those countries to immediately halt such exports — which are in fact illegal — and to actively support the efforts of the United Nations aimed at achieving peace among the parties concerned.

The humanitarian situation and human rights problems in Afghanistan are also sources of grave concern. Japan attaches particular importance to the safe and voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons. Also, demining activities and infrastructure building should be essential elements in the reconstruction of the political system.

Japan urges all the parties concerned to cease their hostile activities and accept the peace plan set forth by the Special Mission of the United Nations, which provides for negotiations for the transfer of power and the establishment of a transitional mechanism. For the United Nations to play a significant role in this context, it is essential that the parties to the conflict ensure that the safety and security of United Nations personnel in no way be jeopardized. The parties to the conflict must guarantee the freedom of movement of such personnel.

The Government of Japan has long supported the peaceful efforts of the United Nations. It has provided a political officer to the United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan (UNGOMAP) and has contributed more than $400 million in refugee assistance, including $12 million for de-mining activities. As one of the fellow members of Asia, Japan feels it incumbent upon it to shoulder a useful role in cooperating with the United Nations for the resolution of the conflict in Afghanistan. It is as a manifestation of this desire on Japan's part that my Government has decided to respond positively to the request of the United Nations and send a political officer to assist Ambassador Mestiri, provided that certain prerequisites for ensuring the safety of his person are met.

As an Asian nation, Japan is especially sensitive to the need to assist the people of Afghanistan in their national reconciliation and reconstruction efforts. I should like, therefore, to strongly urge Member States to support the United Nations as it addresses the myriad problems confronting war-stricken Afghanistan and to abide by their obligations under the draft resolution which the General Assembly is about to adopt.

The Government of Japan, for its part, is committed to contributing to efforts toward the restoration of peace and the building of prosperity in Afghanistan.

The draft resolution introduced by the German delegation and co-sponsored by Japan and other like-minded countries was prepared through a lengthy process of discussion and negotiation. My delegation pays high tribute to the German delegation for the coordinating role it played in achieving consensus among the countries concerned. My delegation considers the draft resolution to be a clear expression of the determination of the international community to assist, in both political and humanitarian spheres, Afghanistan's efforts to restore peace and prosperity. Japan hopes that this draft resolution will be adopted by consensus.

Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the European Union. Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Hungary and the Czech Republic associate themselves with our statement.

The European Union supports draft resolution A/50/L.60, which has two parts. All the member States of the European Union are co-sponsors of the draft resolution. The efforts of the United Nations in Afghanistan should be able to count on our support and should be strengthened. We hope that through its efforts the United Nations can contribute to bringing an end to this destructive conflict. We are convinced that all the people of Afghanistan wish to live in peace and security. We want that wish to be fulfilled.

We therefore welcome the steps taken so far by the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan, headed by Ambassador Mahmoud Mestiri. We are grateful to Ambassador Mestiri for the commitment he has shown, and we encourage him to continue his efforts, through his talks with all parties, to facilitate national reconciliation and reconstruction in Afghanistan. The European Union supports the aim of such talks, namely, to achieve an agreement that includes the establishment of an acceptable and broadly representative mechanism, the transfer of power and an immediate and lasting cease-fire.

In spite of all the assistance the United Nations can and should provide, it must be pointed out that the parties in Afghanistan bear the main responsibility for reaching such an agreement in order to end the bloodshed that has engulfed the country for so many years. We urge the parties to cooperate fully with the United Nations Special Mission and to strive to achieve a peaceful and lasting solution to the conflict.

The peace process in Afghanistan must proceed without outside interference and on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. We encourage all States to help promote peace and stability in Afghanistan.

The memorandum to the General Assembly at its fiftieth session, which was circulated with the speech delivered on behalf of the European Union by the Spanish Foreign Minister, Mr. Solana, on 26 September 1995, stated the following:

> "The European Union continues to give its full support to the efforts of the United Nations Special Representative, Ambassador Mestiri, to achieve a negotiated and comprehensive solution to the Afghan conflict.
>
> "The European Union calls upon the parties to the Afghan conflict to redouble their efforts in the search for peace and for an agreement on the political process. It also requests third countries to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan."

This summary of the European Union's policy towards Afghanistan is reflected in the draft resolution introduced today in the General Assembly. The situation on the ground has become even more critical in the past few months, and the adoption and speedy implementation of this draft resolution are necessary in order to send a clear signal of support — of humanitarian support — for war-stricken Afghanistan and its people and of political support for the United Nations effort to promote peace and stability in the country.

The European Union is deeply concerned about the ongoing war in Afghanistan. We are convinced, however, that by supporting and further strengthening the United Nations Special Mission, by urging the parties in Afghanistan to cooperate in good faith with the aim of achieving peace and by appealing to the international community to give much-needed humanitarian and rehabilitation assistance to Afghanistan, the adoption of this draft resolution will help create the political and economic framework needed by the Afghan people to move towards peace and leave war and widespread suffering behind.

Lastly, the European Union, wishes to express its hope that, if still necessary, draft resolutions under agenda items 20 (d) and 54 will be considered next year.

Mr. Ghafoorzai (Afghanistan): For the fourth time since 1992 the General Assembly is considering the agenda sub-item entitled "Emergency international assistance for peace, normalcy and reconstruction of war-stricken Afghanistan".

Obviously, the main objectives are to evaluate and assess the evolution of the situation and the success of United Nations efforts carried out by the Special Mission to Afghanistan towards the implementation of related resolutions and to bring about peace and national reconciliation in war-stricken Afghanistan.

The Islamic State of Afghanistan would like to present its assessment of the situation during the past year and elaborate on the reasons which have hindered the implementation of last year's resolution (49/140) on Afghanistan.

The present impasse in Afghanistan could be analysed from different angles on the basis of diverse views and conclusions. One fact, however, is certain and a reality: interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs not only prevails but is assuming wider dimensions, and, as a result, the conflict is continuing, with all its disastrous effects on the life of the Afghan nation. This reality, as well as the tragic plight of Afghanistan, is somewhat overlooked, and effective steps to remedy the situation have yet to be taken.

It is surprising, despite our deep gratitude for its endeavours to bring peace to Afghanistan, that even the United Nations has taken some positions which do not come close to supplementing a course of action conducive to the early return of peace to Afghanistan. Some contradictory and equivocal statements of the Special Mission about the Taliban mercenaries, for instance, could be referred to by way of example. By now, all the evidence about this group has been provided by the mass media, including the Pakistani press. I do not intend to go into details about an incident that took place in Stockholm on 1 and 2 June 1995 at an international conference of donor countries.

The people and the Government of Afghanistan are thankful to His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations, and to the head of the Special Mission, His Excellency Ambassador Mahmoud Mestiri, for their continuous endeavours aimed at achieving a lasting peace in Afghanistan. We are committed to cooperating with the Special Mission to enable it to succeed in accomplishing its mandate. It is on the basis of this commitment, as well as the realization of a historic responsibility on our part to defend our national sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, that we have to point out some shortcomings in the endeavours of the Special Mission. There have been failures to identify explicitly foreign interference as the root cause of the conflict and to recommend effective measures to terminate it; to identify and observe a logical sequence in the stages of the peace process on a pragmatic and realistic basis; and, finally, to identify adequately and promptly the true nature of the mercenaries, called the Taliban, at the time of their emergence and subsequently to reveal their well-known foreign links.

Allow me to elaborate on these items one by one:

First, we firmly believe that one of the main causes of the tension and crisis has been and continues to be foreign interference in our country. We are at this time presenting additional evidence to the Assembly to justify our claim. In our view, the primary task of the international community with respect to our war-ravaged country is to put pressure on foreign circles to end their interference in Afghanistan and to take the necessary measures to speed up the peace process by terminating such interference. Only then can it be confidently anticipated that the peace-making pattern will be implemented smoothly and step by step.

In our previous statement before the General Assembly, on 4 October 1995 (A/50/PV.19), we presented major evidence concerning the intervention of Pakistani circles in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. All the events since then substantiate our rightful claims against the manoeuvres of the short-sighted Pakistani circles, which, in the pursuit of their expansionist ambitions, are betting on the precious moral capital of the Pakistani nation — the Afghan nation's friendship, fraternity and trust *vis-à-vis* the people of Pakistan.

Here are a few examples.

On 28 September 1995, *Reuters*, under the heading "Pakistan lays phone cables in Afghanistan", wrote,

> "Technicians of the State-run Pakistan Telecommunications Corporation (PIC) have laid new telephone cables in southern and western Afghanistan to connect the war-ravaged country to Pakistan, PIC sources said."

The provinces connected with the Pakistani communication network include Kandahar and Helmand in the south, Ghazni in the south-west and Herat in the west. The towns of all these provinces are controlled by the Taliban. These facilities were provided to the Taliban without any kind of notification of or consultation between the authorities of Afghanistan or Pakistan. Colonel Amir Imam of Pakistan, acting as de facto Governor of Herat replied to reporters that the facilities had been established on the request of the "local authorities". I am wondering if such a denial of the sovereignty of a nation falls within any accepted norms governing the conduct of relations between sovereign States.

On 5 November 1995, Mr. Asef Ali, Pakistani Foreign Minister, accompanied by Ambassador Qazi Homayun, paid a "sudden" visit to Mazar-i-Sharif in the northern province of Balkh of Afghanistan to hold negotiations with Abdul-Rashid Doestam, a leader of the opposition. The visit took place without the communication of any prior information to the Afghan Government — a violation of all recognized international norms. The visit was based on the malicious assumption of the Pakistani Government that Afghanistan is already a fragmented country, an act clearly aimed at the dismemberment of Afghanistan. Moreover, this visit was aimed at subverting and impairing very sensitive inter-Afghan dialogue to achieve national reconciliation on the basis of a General Assembly resolution dated 20 December 1994. Politically, the visit had a provocative character. Its main purpose was to sabotage the efforts of the United Nations in Afghanistan at a time when Ambassador Mestiri was conducting very important negotiations with all Afghan parties involved in the peace process.

On 9 December 1995, the Pakistani Government decided to move its Embassy to Jalalabad, the administrative centre of the eastern province of Nangarhar. Once again the decision was taken unilaterally and without consultation with the Afghan Government. The Pakistani Government also decided to send Ambassador Qazi Humayun and staff members of the Embassy to Jalalabad. It is ironic that Qazi Humayun had been accredited as Ambassador to the Government of Afghanistan in the capital city, Kabul. He had been received by President Rabbani, to whom he had presented his credentials.

As is well known, the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations codified international diplomatic relations. Afghanistan and Pakistan are both parties to this Convention. In accordance with article 3 of the Convention, diplomatic agents represent the State by which they are sent in the State to which they are accredited. The diplomatic agents are required to promote friendly relations between the sending State and the receiving State.

Unfortunately, despite those clear and explicit provisions of the Vienna Convention, and contrary to provisions of the international law in this regard, Pakistan's unilateral action in sending their accredited Ambassador to a provincial town, while other countries' Embassies are functioning in the capital city of Kabul, is astonishing.

These two deliberate moves by Pakistan are also to be considered as a flagrant interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, as unfriendly and provocative moves that, once again, prove to the international community the design of Pakistani circles to create a fragmented and divided Afghanistan where tensions and war would continue and prevent any successful intra-Afghan dialogue. The Islamic State of Afghanistan strongly condemns these despicable acts of the Pakistani Government.

The security forces of the Islamic State of Afghanistan captured red-handed Pakistani military spies commissioned by the Inter-service Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan to engage in espionage and perpetrate subversive acts inside Afghanistan. These spies confessed to their seditious actions against the Islamic State of Afghanistan. The names and place of arrest of these spies are as follows.

The first is Ishfaq Sadeq, son of Mohammad Sadeq, ISI officer from Punjab, who was collecting military and political information from various provinces of Afghanistan. He had established contacts with the Afghan opposition and, while gathering information, he was captured in the Panjsher valley on 8 September 1995. He had on him forged documents and instruments of communication. The second is Shakil Ahmad, son of Bir Jan from Peshawar, Pakistan, an employee of the Pakistan military intelligence, the ISI. He was captured on 8 September 1995 with Ishfaq Ahmad while gathering information. He was carrying a revolver and had on him forged documents and secret-code working lists, and so on. The third is Hemayattullah, son of Ghulam Hazrat, a Pakistan police officer, who was in fact serving the ISI. He was captured in Kabul on 28 August 1995 and found to be in possession of forged documents and spying instruments. The fourth is Dawood Jan, son of Ghulam Sarwar Khan. He is an Intelligence officer registered with the naval forces of Pakistan who was captured in Kabul seven days after the Taliban attack on Chahar Asyab, south of Kabul, on 17 October 1995 while gathering sensitive information. The fifth is Rahmatullah, from the Kuhat district of the north-west frontier province of Pakistan, who was captured in Maidan Shahr in November 1995 with other mercenaries engaged in fighting against the forces of the Islamic State of Afghanistan. All these spies are awaiting trial.

The Taliban, which exemplifies Pakistani meddling in Afghanistan, is nothing but a creation of the Pakistani ISI, for purposes other than the return of peace to Afghanistan. In this context, we merely point to the statements of a number of prominent Pakistani politicians, senators, members of parliament, analysts and commentators, as well as the Pakistani press.

I turn now to violations of Afghanistan's airspace by Pakistani planes. On 30 November 1995, a C-130 airplane, departing from Karachi, violated the airspace of Afghanistan and landed at Kandahar airport, bringing weapons and ammunition to the Taliban.

On 3 December 1995, two small UAF airplanes, departing from Pakistan's Faisalabad airport, violated the airspace of Afghanistan and landed at Kandahar airport, again bringing weapons and ammunition to the Taliban.

On 16 November 1995, a C-130 aircraft containing military weapons and ammunition violated the airspace of Afghanistan and landed at Kandahar airport. The exact point of departure is yet to be identified.

On 26 November 1995 a Gold Stream-type jet aircraft with a delegation aboard violated the airspace of Afghanistan and landed at Kandahar Airport. The exact point of departure has yet to be identified.

On 3 December 1995 a C-130, as well as two small AC aircraft transporting arms and arms-production-related equipment, violated the airspace of Afghanistan and landed once again at Kandahar Airport. The exact point of departure is unidentified.

On 5 December 1995 two military transport aircraft, a UAF-132 and an AC ALFA, violated the airspace of Afghanistan and landed at Kandahar Airport. The exact point of departure is yet to be identified.

Moreover, there is another important piece of evidence that should be noted: Recently, the Afghan authorities traced and discovered evidence of one of the many deals, one worth $27 million, between a Pakistani arms dealer and a defence contractor in a Western European country. The documents obtained, which contained detailed information about the Pakistani side, emphasize a deadline of 10.30 a.m., 13 November, for the budgeting proposal, a clear illustration of the fact that there is Government involvement. The deal is to obtain anti-tank weapons, as well as night-vision equipment and some military spare parts — AM/UAS-12A — obviously for the Taliban.

In a series of diplomatic actions, the Pakistani leadership has been vainly trying to dissemble and play innocent with regard to the events in Afghanistan in an attempt to diminish world reaction, especially within the region, to its irrefutable involvement in the Afghan conflict. Among these actions are the visits of Mrs. Benazir Bhutto and other Pakistani leaders to some countries of the region. However, those countries' refusal to accept the Pakistani leaders' explanations that they are not behind the Taliban foiled the main purpose of those attempts. We wish to express our admiration for those countries' wisdom and sense of realism. By taking such a clear stand they have surely contributed to the cause of peace and stability in the region, in addition to extending valuable moral support to the Afghan nation in this critical phase of its struggle against foreign intervention. In order to secure responsive international action to terminate the acts of aggression and interference, on 14 September 1995 the Government of Afghanistan requested the Secretary-General

> "to dispatch promptly a fact-finding mission to western Afghanistan ... to track down the presence of foreign forces and to prove that the acts of aggression occurred". *(S/1995/795, annex, p. 1)*

The sending of the United Nations fact-finding mission would be highly useful and is necessary even now.

Before making specific comments about the efforts of the United Nations Special Mission during 1995, I should like to make some preliminary observations. When we glance at United Nations peace-making activities in other areas of the world, such as Cambodia, Angola, El Salvador and so on, we realize that there is to some degree a unified pattern of peace-making operations that has been developed step by step.

The first step in this pattern is to distinguish the status of the parties to an internal conflict — namely, the Government and the insurgent forces. This makes it possible to ascertain their views on a negotiated political settlement. Throughout this whole process the United Nations is to maintain strict impartiality. It is not advisable to endorse one side or another in a peace process. The United Nations should also avoid prematurely anointing any one side, because such an endorsement or any preferential treatment would undermine trust in the United Nations as a peace broker. Generally, continuous contacts and painstaking negotiations with the main actors lead to a formal agreement among the parties, which usually includes two chapters, one political and one military.

The political chapter includes agreements about the structure of power, the transfer of power, electoral law, the holding of elections and, whenever needed, the adoption of a constitution. The military chapter of such an agreement generally deals with the demobilization of irregular forces and the building of a national security force.

We understand that the United Nations, as an honest broker in all peace-making operations, must develop a practical and pragmatic approach to secure an overall agreement and to supervise its implementation. In all cases, the most important and urgent matter is to put into effect an immediate and durable cease-fire.

However, in Afghanistan it seems that the United Nations Special Mission, in spite of the rich experience of past United Nations peace-making activities, in the absence of a political agreement and due consideration of the imperative elements and factors of a peaceful political process, emphasizes only one element: the transfer of power. This approach might give one the impression that the Mission has lost sight of other major elements and stages as basic components of the peace process and prerequisites for a durable, just and credible political settlement.

As far as the Islamic State of Afghanistan is concerned, President Rabbani responded to the continuous insistence by the Special Mission that the President make his position known with regard to the transfer of power. When he received Ambassador Mestiri on 3 November 1995, President Rabbani promised to announce his decision at a gathering to be attended by the members of the Supreme State Council, the Cabinet, prominent religious scholars, leaders of parties and tribes, intellectuals, members of independent associations and others. Accordingly, such a gathering was convened at Kabul on 6 November 1995 and was also attended by Mr. Abunafisa, political adviser of the Special Mission. The President announced that he would transfer State power as soon as a mechanism to receive power was established, as a product of an inter-Afghan dialogue, with the assistance of the United Nations Special Mission.

Furthermore, the President called upon the United Nations to expedite its efforts to achieve the early establishment of such a mechanism, in accordance with resolution A/49/140 of 20 December 1994.

To facilitate the process, the Islamic State of Afghanistan expressed its initial agreement to a list, prepared by the United Nations, of 28 prominent Afghan personalities to form the mechanism for the transfer of State power. To create an atmosphere conducive to the consolidation of the political process, Afghanistan initiated new direct talks with the majority of the opposition groups. These talks are producing positive results.

Here I should like to make it clear that as far as the Islamic State of Afghanistan is concerned, as a matter of principle, no major obstacle to the transfer of power seems to exist. However, the logical questions are whether merely obtaining the consent of the President on the transfer of power can be a panacea to ensure all the conditions needed for the return of peace and stability, as well as national reconciliation, and whether the transfer of power is in itself capable of resolving and providing answers to such critical issues as conditions for a cease-fire, the scope of responsibilities during the period of transition and the duration of the transitional period. Does it secure the assurance of an immediate and effective halt to foreign interventions? Does it solve the problem of provisional and local administrations? Can it prevent outside sabotage of the interim authority? Can it resolve the issues of the security force, the collection of arms, the formation of a national army, regional and international guarantees and so on?

Transfer of power should lead to the end of a conflict. If a conflict continues after the transfer of power, then what? A prior overall agreement among the sides to the conflict on a comprehensive peace plan would guarantee that the end of a war and the transfer of power complemented one another.

With the end of the cold war, the United Nations has been engaged in various peacemaking, peace-keeping and even peace-enforcement operations. The valuable experience acquired in these operations will be useful in any similar cases in the future. We are of the view that in the case of special missions guidelines would be necessary, in addition to the United Nations Charter, to serve as a code of conduct in this regard. These codified guidelines would further facilitate the implementation of the mandate given by the United Nations to the special missions. These guidelines need to be practical enough to accommodate global implementation, but also sufficiently flexible to take into account the specific characteristics of the nations involved in each case.

I wish to highlight some facts about the Taliban.

Simple logic and analysis with regard to the nature of the Taliban and their present capabilities leave no doubt as to their links to the outside. Given its proximity and interrelationships, and the existence of an open border, that outside place can be none other than Pakistan.

In my statement before the General Assembly on 4 October 1995 (A/50/PV.19), I submitted evidence and figures resulting from objective analysis and referred to statements by high-ranking Pakistani officials, members of Parliament, senators and statesmen that attempted to refute Pakistan's direct financial and military involvement with, training of and even physical assistance to the Taliban.

If one assumes that the military, logistical and other daily expenses of a single Talib amount to $100, and if one multiplies that figure by 40,000 men — which they now claim to have — the expenses run to $120 million every month. This legitimate and obvious question then arises: Who is providing this budget to the Taliban, as well as thousands of gallons of fuel and other logistical support every single day? It would be an insult to the intelligence of the world community to endorse the claim that Pakistan is not involved with the Taliban, or the ridiculous assertion that the Taliban are being financially assisted from *madrassas* and merchants and sources inside Afghanistan. In fact, the country is a least-developed and landlocked country and 17 years of war have left the private sector with no capacity to support vast military operations like those launched by the Taliban.

However, let me quote the Pakistani media in submitting some evidence that provides logical answers to this puzzle.

On 20 October 1995, *Dawn*, a well-known Pakistani newspaper, featured an editorial written by a distinguished Pakistani political analyst and writer, Mr. Baqir Naqvi, under the heading "Kabul: Time for restraint". Analysing the root causes of the conflict and the strained relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the editorial says the following:

> "Political-wallahs" — which in Urdu means politicians — "in Islamabad would do well to pause and ponder. It is no use striking a pose of innocence or pretending that we are not concerned, that it is the Taliban and their opponents who are having it out. No one in the world buys that. That would be stretching plausible deniability too far. The Taliban's umbilical cord to Pakistan has been visible to all. There is no point pretending otherwise. World reaction will surely come down against Pakistan and not the specific entity called Taliban. We might as well face facts as they are."

In its November 1995 issue, *Soldier of Fortune*, a United States magazine interested in the activities of mercenaries around the world, identified some troubled spots around the world which, in spot No. 12, include Afghanistan. This article says:

> "The Taliban Students' Militia, which came out of nowhere to become a major force over the last year, is in fact a creation of Pakistani intelligence, which provided funding, weapons and a cadre of trained military exiled Afghan officers from the Khalq faction."

For the Assembly's further information, I add that Khalq was one of the two branches of the outlawed Communist Party, which collapsed in 1992.

On 20 March 1995, the Pakistani newspaper *The Nation*, in an article under the heading "What is Happening in Afghanistan?", wrote:

> "'The most interesting thing about the Taliban is that nobody knows where they came from.' This was Aabha Dixit, an expert on Afghanistan, speaking on the front page of *The Washington Post* on 20 February 1995."

The article continues:

> "The Taliban — the name means 'student' in Arabic, Persian and Urdu — are the creation of Pakistani military intelligence. The schools from which these students have emerged are institutes of religious training called *madrassa*, hundreds of which dot the Pakistani landscape. The Taliban themselves, forged as zealots and fighters in the *madrassa*, have been organized by General Naseerullah Babar, Pakistan's Home Affairs Minister. My man in Lahore tells me that the Taliban have been armed and infiltrated into Afghanistan by the Pakistani Inter-Service Intelligence, which explains why they have tanks and artillery as well as guns."

The Sydney *Morning Herald* of Australia, in its 25 September 1995 edition, published an article under the heading "Pakistan meddling upsets balance in South-West Asia" by Professor A. Saikal, Director of the Centre for Middle-Eastern and Central Asian Studies at the Australian National University. Under the main theme that Pakistan's short-sighted manoeuvring in Afghanistan threatens to create a serious conflict in the area, he writes:

> "Pakistan's Interior Minster took steps late last year to deploy the Taliban force. It is reportedly made up of a number of Afghans, trained in refugee camps by a Pakistani Islamic organization, and of many of their ethno-linguistic kindred from the Pakistani side of the border."

Jane's Intelligence Review, on 7 November 1995, ran a comprehensive article entitled "Afghanistan's Taliban" by Anthony Davis. In a section on page 318, under the heading "Pakistan's influence", Mr. Davis writes:

> "Denial from Islamabad notwithstanding, Pakistani backing is known to have reached the Taliban from the official sources. In the late summer of 1994, Pakistani Interior Minister Naseerullah Babar is understood to have begun providing some covert backing. A retired general and 'Afghan hand' who,

> in the mid-70s, had a decisive influence on Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's policy towards Kabul, Babar is today a leading adviser to [Bhutto's] daughter, Benazir Bhutto. Funds and some arms began flowing to the students."

The article continues:

> "Not surprisingly, current support to the Taliban has been seen in Kabul in stark terms. Having found Hekmatyar and the SCC" — the Supreme Coordination Council of the opposition to the Government — "inadequate to the task of toppling the Government, the Pakistani military has thrown its weight behind a new and far more popular Pushtun contender for power. Senior Government sources claim that, as part of this campaign, the ISI has mobilized former Afghan officers of the Khalq wing of the defunct Communist party to serve with Taliban forces in key logistical and technical roles."

The Muslim, a Pakistani newspaper, of 12 November 1995, writes,

> "The Pakhtoon Khawah Milli Awami Party (PMAP) of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province has alleged that the intelligence agencies of Pakistan were constantly interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. ... A meeting of the PMAP, [was] held with its President, Mukhtar Khan Yousofzai, who took a strong position holding Pakistan responsible for the destruction of Afghanistan and affirming that Pakistan was involved in the internal affairs of Afghanistan".

The Pakistani newspaper *Nation*, on 3 December 1995, published an article entitled "Punjab Wants Lahore Rule in Afghanistan", which read in part:

> "Quetta — Mahmood Khan Achakzai, Member of the Pakistan National Assembly and the Chairman of the Pakhtoon Khawah Milli Awami Party (PMAP), while accusing the Punjab and Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) for the destruction of Afghanistan, claimed, 'Both want to impose the rule of Lahore over Kabul through Taliban'. ... Achakzai regretted the present in-fighting in war-torn Afghanistan and said that the Afghan nation was currently passing through a critical stage and that all Pushtuns were under an obligation to resist the foreign interference in Afghanistan. Otherwise, history will never forgive them ...
>
> "Mahmood Achakzai said that the in-fighting in Afghanistan is not a war between infidels and Muslims, but it is a conspiracy by Punjabis and the ISI to conquer Afghanistan and impose the rule of Lahore. He urged the Taliban not to play the game of ISI, and learn the lessons of the past".

I quote again from the Pakistani newspaper *The News*, dated 7 December 1995:

> "Mahmood Khan Achakzai, Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan and Chairman of PMAP, criticizing the Government with reference to its Afghan policy, said that the Government was giving the impression that there was a war between the Tajiks and Pushtuns in Afghanistan and that in fact the war was being fought on the question of whether Kabul can run an independent Afghan Government. ... Mr. Achakzai continued, saying, 'Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto should have talked to Rabbani in Kabul to remove misunderstandings between Kabul and Islamabad, as the Government in Kabul represented Afghanistan'".

Frontier Post, another Pakistani newspaper, in its 3 December 1995 issue, once again quotes the leader of the Pakistani PMAP saying that

> "ISI was behind the fighting in Kabul, as this agency wants Punjab's domination in Afghanistan and ISI was creating confusion, claiming that the ongoing fighting around Kabul was between Tajiks and Pushtuns".

The *International Herald Tribune* of 23 November 1995 contained an article written by John Thor-Dahlberg, entitled "Behind Afghan Militia's Blitzkrieg, Some Outside Help"; this was also published in the *Los Angeles Times* of 21 November 1995. The article said,

> "But from Pakistan have come gasoline for the Taliban's tanks, aircraft and armed vehicles, truck convoys filled with munitions and other supplies and telecommunications equipment, experts and advice. 'This is the work of the Lawrence of Arabia of the ISI, said the opposition Senator Abdul Rahim Khan Mundokhel of Baluchistan.' He was referring to the Inter-Service Intelligence, Pakistan's mysterious and powerful military intelligence agency. He accused his country's Government of trying to play the puppet master in Afghanistan. ... Numerous interviews indicate that officers from the ISI

> regularly escort supply convoys to the Afghan border from Quetta, the capital of Baluchistan, which is also an important Pakistan Army garrison town and home of one of the largest munitions dumps in the country. Some Afghan Talib Muslim religious students say they have been trained by Pakistan in Afghanistan".

The *Los Angeles Times* of 21 November 1995, in an article by John Thor-Dahlberg, adds:

> "Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Pakistani boys and men have been streaming over the frontier to fight along with the Taliban. ... Frequently, the Pakistani recruits have been enlisted at madrassas, or religious schools, operated by the fundamentalist Pakistani Islamic Party Jamaat-ul-Ulema-e-Islame, or JUI, whose legislators support Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's coalition Government. During recent weeks, a single JUI madrassa in Quetta has seen 22 of its students become *shahid*, or martyrs, in battles around the western city of Herat and Maydan Shahr, south-west of Kabul".

Interestingly, the article quotes Muhammad Ijaz ul-Haq, son of the late President Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan, who is a Pakistan Muslim League member of the National Assembly as having said that

> "We tease our Interior Minister, retired Major-General Nasirullah Khan Babar, Pakistani Minister of the Interior, by saying that he has become Commander-in-Chief of Taliban".

The article in the *Los Angeles Times* contained important points that reveal the true supporters of the so-called Taliban. I quote from that article:

> "Prime Minister Bhutto, who espouses a pro-United States foreign policy and neutrality towards Afghanistan, has said that Pakistan has no favourites in Afghanistan. ... Residents of Quetta scoff at such official Pakistani declarations. Recent interviews indicate that the city, located 120 miles from Kandahar, Afghanistan, has become a major staging area for support to the Taliban. ... Recently, Alam Gul, a labourer in his mid 30s, who was surprised to see civilian trucks entering and leaving the walled-in complex before dawn with military escorts, said, 'I talked to the drivers, and they told me they are going to take ammunition to Afghanistan'. He added,'To Taliban'. ... Outside central Quetta at the bulk storage depot of the Pakistan State oil company, workers said that ISI officers now regularly requisition fuel for Afghanistan ... truck convoys, and also fill truck tanks with gasoline to take to Afghanistan".

The same article says:

> "Twenty miles from the frontier, at the Chamnan *octroi*, or toll station for commercial goods being transported by truck, workers can count the number of vehicles heading out of the country. They report that Pakistan is shipping large quantities of secret goods into Afghanistan daily. ... 'Every day more than 18 to 20 trucks head into Afghanistan', said Gul Achakzai, who has been in charge of the checkpoint since July. 'A major from the ISI accompanies them. They are usually in a blue or red pickup and show their identification. They say: "we have so many trucks for Afghanistan; you have to let us through". Sometimes the trucks are covered with traps. We do not know what is in them: men, munitions, petrol, whatever. And the ISI does not let us disclose', Achakzai said. The employees said the vehicles were carrying 100 telephones, two 50-unit switchboards and a VHF telephone relay station and an antenna to provide a wireless link with the Pakistani telephone centre at Chaman. Also in the convoy were 50 Telegraph and Telephone engineers and linesmen. The convoy's destination, Kandahar, was confidential, they said. 'When we went, I did not tell my family where I was going. We were told it was supposed to be a secret job', one Telegraph and Telephone employee said. In Kandahar, the Pakistanis' presence was also carefully concealed."

As brought to the attention of the Council in our letter of 7 December 1995, published as Security Council document S/1995/1014, the Taliban seems recently to have been enabled to enjoy air-power capabilities. Let me quote some pertinent testimony to this effect.

Internationally known Pakistani journalist and observer of the Afghan conflict Ahmad Rasheed was interviewed by the BBC World Service on Sunday, 26 November 1995. I wish for the sake of the record to quote part of the transcript of the interview:

> "BBC: Where did the Taliban get their planes from?
>
> "Ahmad Rasheed: The Taliban captured over 40 aircraft from Herat, the city that was captured several months ago. They had some planes in

> Kandahar that needed spare parts and munitions. They have been getting some help putting these planes into the air, first from General Abdul Rashid Doestam and also from Pakistan, as far as technical help is concerned.
>
> "BBC: How much and what sort of technical help?
>
> "Ahmad Rasheed: Well, for example, in recent weeks it has been widely published that Pakistan has helped set up a telephone network for Taliban in Kandahar and in Herat, and also I think spare parts for MIGs are also being given. At the same time, the Taliban are spending a lot of money hiring pilots from the former Afghan regime who have been in exile in Pakistan. These are Communist pilots who are hiding out in Quetta or Pashawar and have been hired at $4,000 to $5,000 a month to fly these planes out of Kandahar. These were the pilots, I think, responsible for today's bombing of Kabul city.
>
> "BBC: Has Pakistan thrown in its lot with the Taliban as opposed to Rabbani or anybody else? Or are there various competing Pakistani agencies?
>
> "Ahmad Rasheed: There was a time when Pakistan was really not involved. However, I think now Pakistan is much more directly involved. Pakistan is now seeing that its only ally in the field is the Taliban".

As a result of such Pakistani assistance, which empowered the Taliban with air capability, in recent months they have conducted aerial strikes on the Kabul civilian population. These strikes, in March 1995 and since 11 October 1995, and as recently as 17 December 1995, have caused great losses of life and injuries, while destroying much public and civilian property. These actions by Taliban prove that these mercenaries have no respect for international humanitarian law.

I should like to elucidate, for the sake of the record, the grave concerns of the Government and of the people of Afghanistan with regard to the Taliban and the threat they pose for the future.

We wonder if the sponsors of the Taliban have ever envisaged the danger of the group's turning, totally or partially, towards terrorist organizations in the region, for the following reasons.

First, in the light of the tendency of the Taliban to aim for the possession of power and their reluctance even to share power with other parties, should they fail to achieve what they have been promised they would naturally resort to terrorism as a means of revenge.

Secondly, the Taliban are currently in close contact with some of the fundamentalist groups, such as Sepah-e-Sahaba in Pakistan, which are engaged in armed hostilities against other sects.

Thirdly, the possession of a military base and an operational field inside Afghanistan would further provide them the chance of expansion in the whole region and even beyond.

Fourthly, as a complement to the trends and as part of a certain agenda for terrorism, a terrorist group needs to accumulate money and weapons, with which the Taliban seem to have already been well supplied.

Fifthly, such groups become predominantly parties to the traffic of illicit drugs as a source of revenue. In the case of the Taliban, it is worth noting that they are in military control of parts of the country, such as the Helmand province, where poppies are cultivated.

Setting forth these facts, however, does not necessarily imply an intention on the part of the Islamic State of Afghanistan to advocate an antagonistic attitude towards Pakistan. The principled foreign policy of the Islamic State of Afghanistan firmly advocates sincere friendship and a cooperative relationship with all Member States, in particular with neighbouring countries.

We remain indebted to the fraternal Pakistani nation, which stood by us in our days of trial — a chapter of history in which the Afghan nation fought to defend not only itself but countries far beyond it, countries situated on the path of the Soviets' southward thrust, including Pakistan, the region to be shielded from that potential threat. As we have announced on numerous occasions, we would like to re-establish close and brotherly ties with Pakistan. Quite obviously, these ties must be based upon mutual respect of sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Afghanistan, together with Pakistan, can play a significant role in strengthening and broadening the cooperation between all the countries of the region in the economic and cultural fields. We believe that effective regional cooperation, coordinated by the Economic

Cooperation Organization (ECO), cannot be achieved without peace and a cooperative relationship between the two countries.

In past years, the United Nations has actively participated in rehabilitation and reconstruction activities in Afghanistan. While we are deeply appreciative of the efforts undertaken to revitalize basic and infrastructural projects in the rural and urban areas, we are expecting additional endeavours and resources, in coordination with the Ministry of Planning of Afghanistan and other concerned Ministries, for the longer-term prospects for the country's development.

Further and special attention is needed to strengthen cooperation in mine clearance. This coordination of rehabilitation activities would further promote the necessary contacts of the local authorities with the relevant Ministries and enhance the national dimensions of projects, in accordance with the national strategies elaborated for the overall economic development of the country.

In conclusion, with regard to draft resolution A/50/L.60, introduced by Germany on behalf of the co-sponsors, we express satisfaction at the final shape the draft has taken. We are happy to find ourselves in a position to join the consensus, although there are still concepts and notions in the text that do not seem to bear any direct relation to the actual purpose behind the item under consideration. We once again thank all those who positively contributed to the achievement of the draft resolution.

The draft only lists some basic principles and re-emphasizes the mandate of the Special Mission. The degree of future success in carrying out the mandate, however, remains dependent upon the sincerity of all of us — the parties to the conflict and the United Nations as mediator — in playing the roles foreseen for us and in contributing to the peace process, as expected.

Countries that are in a position to have the kind of political leverage that, if utilized, could help terminate foreign interference could play a larger and salutary role. The road to peace in Afghanistan is clear, if these countries give sufficient weight to a United Nations role in which the Special Mission can use its capabilities and, acting with active impartiality, remove the hindrances. It is in the interest of the people of Afghanistan, who have endured more than enough pain and suffering, destruction and bereavement, as well as in the interest of regional peace and stability, to expect the United Nations to enhance a peace process in which the main actors — the Afghan people — will decide for themselves what is the essence of democracy, without which only the rule of diktat will prevail.

Mr. Shah (India): India has traditional and historic ties of friendship with Afghanistan. Geographic proximity and cultural linkages have enhanced the bonds of friendship between us over centuries of interaction. The unsettled political conditions in Afghanistan have a direct and adverse fall-out on peace and security in the region and affect my country. We therefore have an abiding interest in the restoration of peace and stability in Afghanistan. Our commitment to this cause is reflected in the fact that India is among the few countries which maintain a diplomatic presence in Kabul notwithstanding the difficult living conditions in that city.

The human tragedy in terms of the toll taken of innocent lives, including those of women, children and displaced persons, and the pervasive deterioration in the quality of life in Afghanistan has assumed alarming proportions. Peace and stability are a prerequisite for national reconstruction. However, despite the indefatigable efforts of Ambassador Mahmoud Mestiri, the attempts made to restore peace in Afghanistan have regrettably not yielded the desired results. India supports the endeavours of the Head of the United Nations Special Mission to bring about a political settlement in Afghanistan. We stand ready to assist the United Nations in this endeavour.

It is our firm belief that a lasting settlement can only be reached in Afghanistan if it is acceptable to all parties, is a reflection of the popular will of the country and is neither imposed by military means nor dictated from outside. A feeling of injustice on the part of any party is likely to result in the continuance of the present situation of violence and conflict. The acceptance of the cease-fire which is being stipulated by the Afghan Government is necessary to embark on the path to peace and for the success of the United Nations initiative to transfer authority to an acceptable mechanism. The diplomatic and political process cannot meet with success unless suitable conditions are created through a cease-fire for the transfer of such authority. Only a cease-fire will give confidence to all the parties that political initiatives can succeed.

There can be no peace in Afghanistan without total cessation of foreign interference. As the Secretary-General has stated in his report contained in document

A/50/737/Add.1, foreign intervention has persistently complicated efforts to restore peaceful conditions. The history of Afghanistan is replete with examples of the strong opposition of the Afghan people to outside interference in the internal affairs of their country. External interference in Afghanistan has now reached dangerous proportions. Fundamentalist forces are being trained, financed and armed by outsiders who have abandoned all sense of restraint. The Government of Afghanistan has repeatedly pointed out specific instances of foreign intervention and supply of arms to various factions in its letters to the Secretary-General. We therefore endorse the Secretary-General's recommendation in paragraph 70 of his report contained in document A/50/737 and urge the international community to forcefully reassert that external interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan should end forthwith.

The annual effort by the General Assembly to focus on the tragedy of Afghanistan is seen by many as a simple exercise to cleanse its conscience. Much more needs to be done. The United Nations must gear itself up with determination to assist in restoring peace, stability and reconstruction in Afghanistan. In this perspective, the request contained in draft resolution B in document A/50/L.60 that the Secretary-General report to the General Assembly every three months on the progress of the United Nations Special Mission is noteworthy as it would, at least periodically, focus the attention of the international community on the happenings in Afghanistan and hopefully act as a catalyst to arouse our collective conscience.

At the same time, the urgent requirement of humanitarian assistance to the war-ravaged people of Afghanistan needs to be underscored and addressed. The situation in Kabul is, in particular, a matter of grave concern. Kabul remains a city without electricity and potable water. The situation of malnutrition in some of the more remote areas is described as reaching alarming proportions. Yet, in 1994-1995, the contributions by the international community for emergency humanitarian assistance fell short of the target of US $106.4 million by US $27.1 million. We believe that the long-suffering civilian population of Afghanistan deserves immediate and adequate international assistance. We hope that the enhanced appeal for US $124 million for 1995-1996 will evoke a favourable response from the international donor community.

India's concern for the welfare and prosperity of the Afghan people is only natural. Despite our resource constraints we have contributed to the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Through various programmes of the United Nations in 1994-1995, India supplied relief items worth nearly 4 million rupees. During the current year we have provided medicines, tea, tents and other items worth over 10 million rupees as part of our bilateral assistance to Afghanistan. We will continue such humanitarian assistance. This is our tradition. It is symbolic of our concern and sympathy for the people of Afghanistan.

Afghanistan is a founding member of the United Nations. To support its sovereignty and integrity is the duty of the international community and requires both firm political will and willingness to devote the means to achieve the desired ends. We, therefore, welcome the Secretary-General's observation that the international community should be prepared to assist in every possible way towards the restoration of peace and stability in Afghanistan and its reconstruction. India stands ready to cooperate with the United Nations, the Afghan Government and the Afghan people in this vital effort.

Mr. Awaad (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of Egypt wishes, at the outset, to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report contained in document A/50/737 on emergency international assistance for peace, normalcy and reconstruction of Afghanistan. We would also like to commend all the efforts made by the United Nations in order to provide humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan and, by the same token, to express our appreciation for the United Nations Special Mission led by Mr. Mahmoud Mestiri for its work towards a peaceful and just solution to the issue of Afghanistan that would put an end to the bloodshed which has pitted brothers and friends in Afghanistan against each other, safeguard the sovereignty and integrity of Afghanistan and open up the way for development efforts and reconstruction.

The delegation of Egypt also takes this opportunity to express its full appreciation for the unremitting efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in helping the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan to promote a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan. Special thanks go to the Islamic Conference's Secretary-General, Dr. Hamed al-Ghabid.

The report we are now considering under agenda item 20 (d) refers to the possibility of continuing the United Nations efforts aimed at facilitating national *rapprochement* in Afghanistan by promoting the establishment of a fully representative and broad-based authoritative council that would embrace representatives of all Afghani parties, whatever their previous external and internal affiliations might have been. The council would have the authority to negotiate and oversee an immediate cease-fire; to create and control a non-partisan national security force that would provide for security throughout the country and oversee the collection of all heavy weapons in the country; and to form a transitional Government that would continue to administer the affairs of the country until conditions for free and fair elections that would return a democratic government were established throughout the country.

The delegation of Egypt cannot but forcefully support the continuation of efforts towards the establishment of such a broad-based mechanism which would put paid to a war that has lasted for far too long and has devastated the country and exhausted the strength and resources of its people. Here, the delegation of Egypt wishes to reiterate its support for the Special Mission to Afghanistan and support for the Secretary-General's decision to strengthen the Mission by stationing four additional Political Affairs Officers in four major cities in Afghanistan in order to ensure continuity of information exchange and consultation between the Special Mission and the political leaders based in those cities.

In his report, the Secretary-General points out that:

> "Continued instability in Afghanistan would have grave consequences not only for the Afghans themselves but also for the whole region." *(A/50/737, para. 68)*

We would add to this that the negative effects of instability in Afghanistan spill over far beyond the region.

Instability and the ongoing armed conflict in Afghanistan have made it possible for various extremist groups that take cover under the mantle of Islam to use Afghan's territory as a haven for misguided factions that hatch plots which cause a great deal of harm and shed the blood of innocent people. To restore stability to Afghanistan and to effect national reconciliation between the Afghani factions are essential prerequisites that have to be met if Afghanistan is to regain its control over all its territory and thereby to deprive those terrorist groups of the opportunity of using that territory to launch their criminal schemes.

While we consider the political aspects of the restoration of peace to Afghanistan, we should not overlook the other aspects relating to rehabilitation and reconstruction. Though the rehabilitation activities undertaken by the United Nations have undoubted results that are significant and tangible, yet those activities, by themselves, constitute an extremely small proportion of the huge volume of the assistance needed for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Afghanistan. Much more long-term assistance is needed by this friendly country which has been devastated by war. The country's infrastructure is in dire need of continuous and vigorous reconstruction schemes that should enjoy the support of the United Nations system and of the international community at large.

Proceeding from this, the delegation of Egypt, with a view to striking a balance between the political and the economic aspects of peaceful settlement in Afghanistan, appeals to the donor countries to go beyond the framework of humanitarian assistance by funding reconstruction programmes that would make it possible to rebuild the infrastructures of Afghanistan, which have been devastated by war.

We sincerely hope that, in the months to come, the Afghani people will be able to heal its wounds and that the Afghani leaders will have the vision and patience to engage in a wide-ranging political dialogue aimed at the achievement of the national reconciliation that would make it possible to initiate the country's march towards recovery, reconstruction and development.

Egypt, as one of the sponsors of the two draft resolutions under this agenda item, hopes that they will be adopted by consensus, without a vote. We should like also to express thanks and appreciation to the delegation of Germany for its positive and significant role in coordinating consultations on the two draft resolutions.

Mr. Schifferdecker (United States of America): The United States is pleased to be a sponsor of the draft resolution on Afghanistan. As one of the States that founded the United Nations Special Mission two years ago, my Government remains firmly committed to helping to restore a legitimate government in Afghanistan and to assisting the people there with the daunting task of rehabilitating and reconstructing their war-torn country.

The United States appreciates the Secretary-General's peacemaking efforts, under the auspices of the United Nations Special Mission, headed by Ambassador Mahmoud Mestiri. But, frankly, we are deeply disappointed that the Afghan parties have so far failed to display the necessary political will and flexibility to achieve peace and national reconciliation.

The present draft resolution provides a clear blueprint to achieve those goals. The key components are a transfer of power to a broad-based interim council, a nationwide cease-fire, the creation of a national security force and the formation of an acceptable transitional government. We strongly urge the Afghan parties to grasp this opportunity for peace before time runs out.

The United States shares this draft resolution's premise that a settlement cannot be won by force of arms. Prolongation of the conflict only increases the temptation for outsiders to meddle further in the country's affairs. The draft resolution bluntly warns of the dangers of Afghan territory being used as a springboard for terrorism, arms smuggling and narco-trafficking, in the region and beyond. We therefore join with other supporters in calling on all States to respect Afghanistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity and to strictly refrain from shipping weapons or other war-making materials to the factions.

My Government supports the aims of paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/50/L.60 B, regarding the Secretary-General's decision to strengthen the United Nations Special Mission. However, in keeping with our efforts to establish a ceiling on budget growth for the 1996-1997 biennium, we firmly believe that the resources to implement this decision must be found within the programme budget for 1996-1997. This can be done without impairing other programmes.

At the same time, my Government remains committed to assisting the people of Afghanistan, many of whom are internally displaced or live as refugees in neighbouring countries. Through the United Nations, its specialized agencies and private voluntary organizations, the United States provided nearly $50 million in fiscal year 1995 for the Afghan people. These funds were allocated for refugee programmes in the areas of nutrition, shelter, health and education, as well as for de-mining operations.

Within our resource constraints, we intend to continue to help alleviate the suffering of the Afghan people. But, unfortunately, as this resolution makes clear, the lack of an agreed political framework seriously inhibits the ability of the donor countries to assist in the longer term process of rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country.

The United States looks forward to the day when all Afghan refugees can return to their homes in safety and honour, and begin picking up the pieces of their shattered lives. But, for this to happen, the warring parties, including the present holders of power in Kabul, must begin now to break through the current sterile debates and begin talking about how to build, rather than destroy. This draft resolution offers them their best — and perhaps only — chance to accomplish this worthy task.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its deep gratitude to our colleagues of the German delegation, who once again steered this draft resolution through a difficult negotiation to a successful conclusion.

Mr. Çelem (Turkey): At the outset, I would like to thank the Secretary-General for the report that he has submitted in document A/50/737 and its addendum on the overall situation in Afghanistan, the implementation of the emergency humanitarian assistance programme in that war-stricken country, and the work of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan.

We would also like to express our gratitude and full support for the tireless efforts of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan, led by Ambassador Mahmoud Mestiri.

More than three years have gone by since encouraging changes took place in the political situation in Afghanistan, following a long and painful struggle of the Afghan nation for the liberation of their country. The establishment of an interim government in Kabul at that time had brought us hopes that, at long last, all Afghans would put aside their differences and start the process of reconciliation. We had hoped that a broad-based reconciliation process, including all groups, could have started. However, we have been greatly dismayed at the resumption and continuation of the armed conflict, which has caused heavy casualties, the total devastation of the economic infrastructure, and a deepening refugee crisis affecting not only Afghanistan, but also neighbouring countries in the region.

The continuing hostilities have not only created enormous humanitarian problems of outstanding proportions, but have also endangered the process of political normalization. We, therefore, once again appeal to all conflicting sides in Afghanistan, especially the leaders of the warring parties, to agree on a national reconciliation process and to support the Special Mission's efforts in this regard.

We attach great importance to the unity and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. In this respect, we fully support the United Nations Special Mission's wide-ranging consultations with Afghan parties and its proposals to bring about an end to the factional fighting, to set in motion the process of political reconciliation and to embark on the challenging task of rehabilitation and reconstruction of Afghanistan.

We welcome the reference made in draft resolution B to the national reconciliation process through the establishment of a fully representative and broad-based authoritative council, which would ensure the transfer of power and would have the authority, among other things, to negotiate and oversee an immediate and durable cease-fire. We firmly believe that the draft resolution before us provides a sound and workable basis for the speedy resolution of the conflict in Afghanistan.

In this respect, we attach particular importance to the constructive role the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) has been playing to help bring about national reconciliation among the parties in Afghanistan and fully support its efforts. The endeavours of the OIC are conducted in close cooperation and coordination with the United Nations Special Mission and they are complementary in nature to those of the United Nations.

Turkey is co-sponsoring draft resolution A and B submitted under agenda items 20 (d) and 54. Our heartfelt appreciation goes to the German delegation for the exemplary manner in which it has conducted the long and sensitive work of coordinating the drafting of the two documents. We also thank the other interested delegations which have been closely involved in the drafting process. In this respect, we strongly support the appeal in draft resolution A, addressed to all Member States, to provide all possible financial, technical and material assistance for the repatriation and settlement of Afghan refugees and displaced persons, and for the reconstruction of Afghanistan. We welcome the expression of gratitude made in the draft resolution to all Governments that have rendered assistance to Afghan refugees, in particular the Governments of Pakistan and Iran. Accordingly, the international community should actively respond to the Secretary-General's appeal for Afghan humanitarian assistance by generously contributing to the Fund set up for this purpose. I should also like to take this opportunity to commend all relevant United Nations agencies taking part in the emergency humanitarian assistance programme for Afghanistan for their strenuous efforts to remedy the humanitarian situation in that country, as well as to help resolve the refugee problem.

The senseless fratricidal conflict that has been tearing Afghanistan apart has to come to an end. First and foremost, the main responsibility lies with the warring parties, which must settle their differences. The international community can only help and support their political will in this regard. To that end, my country stands ready to do all it can. Inspired by the close historical and cultural bonds existing between Turkey and Afghanistan, we will continue to shoulder our responsibility to promote peace and prosperity in that country. We, therefore, reiterate our support for the draft resolution before us and hope that it will be adopted by consensus as a display of international solidarity for the people of war-stricken Afghanistan.

Mr. Peerthum (Mauritius), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. Allagany (Saudi Arabia) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: It is regrettable indeed that once again the Assembly has to consider two draft resolutions with the aim of restoring peace and normalcy in fraternal Afghanistan. We had hoped that the different factions in Afghanistan would respond to the request for power transfer and the establishment of a permanent cease-fire as provided for by the General Assembly in its last year resolution. Had this been the case, we would have been considering today a draft resolution on the reconstruction of this war-ravaged country.

The question of fraternal Afghanistan has and still commands the concern of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia which has continuously provided assistance to the people of Afghanistan as it did during its heroic struggle. Therefore the present situation, which continues to devastate Afghanistan and whose effects spill over beyond the borders of that country, is cause for concern to us.

We wish to reiterate here that we are confident that with the continued interest of the international community and with the help of the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Afghani people will once more be able to live in peace and start to reconstruct its war-ravaged country.

In light of the foregoing, the delegation of Saudi Arabia is pleased to join in sponsoring the draft resolutions entitled "Emergency International Assistance for Peace, Normalcy and Reconstruction of War-Stricken Afghanistan" and "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for International Peace and Security".

We believe that these two draft resolutions represent a framework for a political solution to the Afghani problem while at the same time guaranteeing continued economic and humanitarian support for Afghanistan.

I would be remiss if I did not pay tribute to the strenuous efforts of the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany in making it possible to achieve the text of these two draft resolutions. We hope that the draft resolutions will enjoy more than verbal support on the part of the international community in general and on the part of the different Afghani factions in particular.

We sincerely hope that the Afghani factions will heed all the provisions of the two draft resolutions which we hope will be adopted today in order to put an end to the suffering of the Afghani people. We call on the United Nations Special Mission in Afghanistan to redouble its efforts to effectively discharge the tasks entrusted to it in the two draft resolutions under discussion today in order to help the Afghani people achieve peace.

We pray for our brethren in Afghanistan and wish them peace, prosperity and security.

Mr. Kamal (Pakistan): The people of Pakistan and Afghanistan are linked by bonds of faith, history and culture. The ties were further reinforced during the 14 years of Jihad in which the people of Pakistan stood by their Afghan brothers in a struggle that finally led to the restoration of freedom, political independence and the sovereignty of Afghanistan.

During these long years, and despite its own economic difficulties and constraints, Pakistan provided shelter to 3.5 million Afghan refugees on its soil. After the end of the war, a pilot project for the repatriation of these Afghan refugees was launched by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1990, in collaboration with the World Food Programme and the Government of Pakistan. Around 1.7 million refugees have been repatriated to date under this programme, but the process of the return of the refugees has considerably slowed down since 1992 due to factional fighting in Afghanistan.

So far, Pakistan has spent around PRs. 10.5 billion from its own resources on the care and maintenance of Afghan refugees. The presence of a large number of refugees for 16 years has, in addition, imposed a heavy burden on the economy and resources of Pakistan. The presence of the Afghan refugees on Pakistani soil has caused enormous environmental degradation and ecological damage and has adversely affected Pakistan's social fabric. The strain on Pakistan's limited resources continues, as over 1.5 million Afghan refugees, who are unable to return to their homeland due to intra-Afghan fighting, are still living in 179 camps in Pakistan. Because of the intra-Afghan fighting, additional Afghan refugees still continue to cross into Pakistan. International assistance, on the other hand, has shown substantial decline, essentially due to donor fatigue. The situation needs to be carefully reassessed as the problem remains visible to all. Despite these substantial reductions, including those in the assistance programmes of the UNHCR and the World Food Programme for Afghan refugees, Pakistan will continue to look after its Afghan brethren until such time as the hostilities cease in Afghanistan and the refugees are able to return to their homeland in dignity and honour.

Having played a key role in helping the Afghans to regain their sovereignty and political independence, Pakistan then defended those principles during the Geneva negotiations, which culminated in the Geneva Accords of 1988. After the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, Pakistan then helped its Afghan brethren in reaching a consensus on the Peshawar Accord of 1991, helped bring about a cease-fire between Engineer Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Commander Ahmed Shah Masoud in August 1992, was a catalyst in bringing about the Islamabad Accord on 7 March 1993, and promoted a meeting between the Afghan leaders in Jalalabad, which refined the political framework of the Islamabad Accord and brought about the formation of a Cabinet. In the light of all these efforts, it is most regrettable that, although more than seven years have elapsed since the signing of the Geneva Accords, peace and normalcy have not returned in Afghanistan because of the factional fighting between Afghan brothers.

According to the Islamabad Accord of 1993, Professor Rabbani's tenure as the transient President of Afghanistan was to end on 28 June 1994, by which date he was to complete a due electoral process which would lead to a proper representative government in Kabul. However, he had his rule extended by highly questionable means for another six months - to 28 December 1994. That date came and went. Professor Rabbani then told Ambassador Mestiri that he would step down on 21

March 1995. That date too came and went. Professor Rabbani reneged once again on a solemn commitment, just as he had reneged earlier on his duty to complete the electoral process.

The fact that Professor Rabbani did not take any of the measures stipulated in the Islamabad Accords suggests also that he never intended to hand over power in the first place. He was to have established an election commission and to hold elections within eight months of the Islamabad Accord, or by the end of 1993. He did not do so. He was to have also established a Defence Council, comprising two members from each party, to take possession of heavy weapons from all parties and to demilitarize Kabul and other cities of Afghanistan. He did not do so either. It is the resultant misgivings among the Afghan factions, due to the non-implementation of the Islamabad Accord, that have led to renewed hostilities among the warring parties in Afghanistan.

In his report of 6 December 1995, the Secretary-General notes that:

> "The general view of the Afghan people remains that, his mandate having expired on 28 December 1994, Mr. Rabbani must transfer power to a broad-based representative body". *(A/50/737/Add.1, para 12)*

It is therefore Professor Rabbani's obduracy against sharing power with other groups in Afghanistan that lies at the root of the current fighting in this war-torn country. Professor Rabbani has failed so many times to fulfil his promise to hand over power that the opposition groups are today totally sceptical about his real intentions. According to the Secretary-General's report, during his meeting with Ambassador Mestiri on 11 November 1995, General Doestam characterized Mr. Rabbani's declaration of 6 November 1995 to hand over power:

> "as yet another ruse to gain time and cling to power". *(A/50/737/Add.1, para. 16)*

The members of the Taliban *Shura* who met with Ambassador Mestiri also expressed serious doubts about Mr. Rabbani's intention to relinquish power.

In June 1995, Ambassador Mestiri had informed the Donor Briefing Conference in Stockholm that the base of the Afghan "Government" had become narrower and could be said to represent only the Tajik ethnic group, the Pushtuns, the Uzbeks and the Hazaras, representing about 60 per cent of the population of Afghanistan, having been totally alienated. Since then Professor Rabbani has lost control of most of Afghanistan and is now pushed back into Kabul and just five of the 32 provinces of the country. According to the Secretary-General's report, the Taliban are in control of more than half the country.

As I stated earlier, it was the mediatory role played by Pakistan in the negotiations on the Islamabad Accord which made it possible for Professor Rabbani to take over power from Professor Sibghatullah Mojadedi in 1993. However, when Pakistan did not support Professor Rabbani's refusal to share power in accordance with the Islamabad Accord, the Kabul regime launched a malicious propaganda campaign against Pakistan. A dastardly attack was carried out by terrorist Afghan elements against the Pakistan Embassy in Kabul on 6 September 1995. The Embassy was burnt down. One member of the Pakistan Embassy was killed, and others including the Ambassador and the Defence Attaché received serious wounds. There is ample evidence to suggest that the attack against the Pakistan diplomatic mission was aided and abetted and in fact carried out by the Kabul authorities themselves. This was a gross violation of the norms of diplomatic behaviour, and obviously ran contrary to the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961. It also explains why the Pakistan Embassy is returning to Jalalabad, and not to Kabul.

It is clear that, in an effort to deflect the attention of the international community from the core issue of the transfer of power, the Kabul regime has raised the bogey of foreign interference in its internal affairs, while itself receiving plane- loads of arms from outside to eliminate other Afghan factions. The evidence is visible and incontrovertible.

Today, the people of Afghanistan have no faith or confidence in the ability of those in Kabul whom they consider usurpers to deliver peace in that country. Their sufferings can only be alleviated if the international community addresses the root cause of the conflict in Afghanistan and urges Professor Rabbani clearly and unambiguously to hand over power to a broad based interim council with the authority to negotiate and accept the transfer of power, oversee an immediate and durable cease-fire, and demilitarize Kabul and the entire country.

Pakistan has absolutely no preference for one group over the other in the intra-Afghan rivalry. Throughout the Afghan crisis, Pakistan has continued to follow a policy of neutrality and non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Our only interest is in the restoration of peace and stability in Afghanistan, which alone would enable the remaining one and a half million Afghan refugees in Pakistan to return to their homeland in honour and dignity. We believe that this peace and stability can only be achieved by a broad-based transitional mechanism which goes beyond ethnic exclusivism. We also believe, firmly and earnestly, that a solution to the crisis in Afghanistan lies only with the Afghan people themselves.

We have heard the wild and rather prolonged accusations hurled at Pakistan by the representative of the Kabul regime earlier this afternoon. These are no more than the ineffectual flutterings of a regime that has no more credibility in this international forum than it has in its own country. But let us set the record straight regarding the Taliban. The emergence of the Taliban is an indigenous phenomenon in Afghanistan. It reflects the war-weariness of the Afghan people to whom the Taliban's promise of demilitarization and the induction of an honest administration came as a welcome relief from the extortionist practices of predatory warlords and the unbridled ambitions of a regime in Kabul. The Taliban's victories did not come because of their military expertise or their professional training but because of the defection of local commanders disillusioned with the continued conflict and bloodshed. In fact, Professor Rabbani himself collaborated closely with the Taliban movement. He is on record as having admitted publicly that he supported Taliban during their initial victories. His forces had helped the Taliban in their assault against the forces of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. Subsequently, Jamaat-i-Islami's official organ, *The Afghan News* acknowledged that:

> "The State seized a large number of tanks and guns and huge quantities of ammunition from Hekmatyar during the latter's defeat at the hands of the Taliban".

The *Afghan News* further disclosed that Professor Rabbani's forces themselves had handed over Charasiab and Rishkore to the Taliban. It is clear that Professor Rabbani cooperated with the Taliban until his enemies were being decimated by the latter. However, when the Taliban started demanding the resignation of Professor Rabbani, the Kabul regime accused it of having Pakistan's support.

Pakistan fully supports the Special Mission of the Secretary-General to Afghanistan, as mandated by the United Nations General Assembly. We hope that Ambassador Mestiri will continue efforts to facilitate national *rapprochement* and reconstruction in Afghanistan by ensuring the transfer of power through the urgent establishment of a fully representative and broad-based authoritative Council, which can then complete the other actions which will alone pave the way to peace and security in Afghanistan. We hope that this year's resolution in the General Assembly will contribute to that process. Pakistan, for its part, stands ready to assist the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference in these endeavours.

Finally, the historic struggle of the people of Afghanistan against foreign invasion and occupation is a glorious chapter in contemporary history. Many political scientists believe that the steadfast struggle waged by the Afghans hastened the demise of the cold war and ushered in a new era of freedom. The people of Afghanistan, and the entire international community which supported them, deserve commendation for this achievement. While the Afghan jihad was reaching its conclusion, hopes were rekindled of a new vision of cooperation among the States of Central Asia and West Asia for a better and prosperous future. Unfortunately, in the aftermath of the resolution of the Afghan crisis, uncertainty still continues. It has been compounded by internecine strife and bloody infighting. The war-stricken Afghans, who were hoping to return to their homeland to reconstruct their devastated economy and landscape, still continue to live in an atmosphere of fear, deprivation and armed conflict. Their beautiful dawn has been postponed by the senseless fighting going on in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan has always played a pivotal role in history. It has made rich contributions to human civilization. It still is the key to prosperity and stability in Central Asia. It still is the nerve centre for empathy and cohesion among the peoples of the region. We hope that all the people of Afghanistan and their leaders would demonstrate sincerity and maturity and help Afghanistan resume its rightful place in today's world.

The Acting President: We have heard the last speaker in the debate under sub-item (d) of agenda item 20 and under agenda item 54.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/50/L.60.

The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/50/825.

I should like to announce that since the introduction of the draft resolution the following countries have become sponsors of draft resolution A/50/L.60: Albania, Bangladesh, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Georgia, Honduras, Italy, Latvia, Mongolia, Netherlands and Nigeria.

May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution A/50/L.60?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 50/88).

The Acting President: May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to conclude its consideration of sub-item (d) of agenda item 20?

It was so decided.

The Acting President: May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 54?

It was so decided.

Reports of the Fifth Committee

The Acting President: The General Assembly will now consider the reports of the Fifth Committee on sub-item (b) of agenda item 122 and agenda item 133.

If there is no proposal under rule 66 of the rules of procedure, I shall take it that the General Assembly decides not to discuss the reports of the Fifth Committee that are before the Assembly today.

It was so decided.

The Acting President: Statements will therefore be limited to explanations of vote.

The positions of delegations regarding the recommendations of the Fifth Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official record. May I remind members that under paragraph 7 of decision 34/401, the General Assembly agreed that:

> "When the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in plenary meeting, unless that delegation's vote in plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee".

May I remind delegations that, also in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Before we begin to take action on the recommendations contained in the reports of the Fifth Committee, I should like to advise representatives that we are going to proceed to take decisions in the same manner as was done in the Fifth Committee.

Agenda item 122 *(continued)*

Financing of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in the Middle East:

(b) United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (A/50/824)

The Acting President: The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 6 of its report (document A/50/824).

The draft resolution was adopted by the Fifth Committee without a vote. May I consider that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 50/89).

The Acting President: I now call on the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, who wishes to speak in explanation of position on the draft resolution just adopted.

Mr. Sulaiman (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation would like to explain its position on the draft resolution in document A/50/824 on the financing of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).

We wish to indicate that, if this draft resolution had been put to a recorded vote, we would have voted against it in conformity with our established principled position set out at earlier sessions of the General Assembly. In essence, our position is that the cost of financing UNIFIL should be borne by the aggressor party, Israel, whose aggressive practices necessitated the presence of this Force.

The Acting President: We have thus concluded this stage of our consideration of sub-item (b) of agenda item 122.

Agenda item 133 (*continued*)

Financing of the United Nations Mission in Haiti

Report of the Fifth Committee (Part III) (A/50/705/Add.2)

The Acting President: The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 5 of Part III of its report (A/50/705/Add.2).

The draft resolution was adopted by the Fifth Committee without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 50/90).

The Acting President: We have thus concluded this stage of our consideration of agenda item 133.

Agenda item 20 (*continued*)

Strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian and disaster relief assistance of the United Nations, including special economic assistance

(b) Special economic assistance to individual countries or regions

Agenda item 26

The situation in Burundi

Report of the Secretary-General (A/50/541 and Add.1)

Draft resolutions (A/50/L.58, A/50/L.59)

The Acting President: I now call on the representative of Sudan to introduce draft resolutions A/50/L.58 and A/50/L.59.

Mr. Yassin (Sudan): I have the honour to address the Assembly, on behalf of the African Group, as Chairman of the Group for the month of December to introduce two draft resolutions: A/50/L.58 on special emergency assistance for the economic recovery and reconstruction of Burundi and A/50/L.59 on the situation in Burundi.

The two draft resolutions on Burundi before us are basically identical to those adopted at the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly and are a clear demonstration of the conviction of the Assembly of the urgent and special attention that needs to be given to the situation in Burundi. The two present draft resolutions reflect and take into consideration the new political and economic developments both in Burundi and in the world as a whole.

By its resolutions of 25 October and 2 December 1994, the General Assembly called for a global programme of assistance to Burundi whereby the international community would positively respond to Burundi's urgent needs and mobilize the necessary economic and humanitarian resources to help Burundi overcome its two-year crisis.

In its quest for peace, stability and socio-economic development, Burundi has been striving and sparing no effort successfully to surmount a transitional era of its history. As a result, efforts further to enhance constructive negotiations between the parties signatories to the Convention on Governance led on 1 March 1995 to the formation of a coalition Government. More and extensive efforts are needed to ensure the full and impartial implementation of the Convention on Governance.

Draft resolution A/50/L.59 of 12 December 1995 makes special reference to that Convention, which was strongly commended by the General Assembly in its resolution 49/7 on 25 October 1994. The Convention enjoys the unanimous support of the General Assembly and the Security Council. This support demonstrates the political importance of the Convention and reflects the necessity of all parties concerned being fully engaged in its implementation. A special appeal should be addressed to the coalition Government to continue to comply with the Convention in order to uproot the causes of the crisis.

The draft resolution invites all political partners to organize a general debate on the country's basic problems with a view to the conclusion of a national covenant. It earnestly appeals to the States that signed the Cairo Declaration of 29 November 1995 to abide by the commitment embodied in that document and it reiterates its urgent appeal to the international community to mobilize political, diplomatic, human, economic and financial resources to assist Burundi in overcoming the crisis and alleviate the heavy burden of the combined phenomena of refugees and displaced persons.

Draft resolution A/50/L.58 on special emergency assistance for the economic recovery and reconstruction of Burundi is intended to address the root causes and adverse effects of the social and political crisis which has existed since October 1993. The draft resolution recognizes the efforts of the coalition Government to redress the situation through its plan of action of March 1995.

The draft resolution again invites all States, United Nations institutions and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to continue to provide Burundi with economic, financial, material and technical assistance for economic and recovery and encourages the donor community to make its contribution to the economic recovery of Burundi. Furthermore, the draft resolution requests the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to coordinate their efforts and activities to meet the needs of the people of Burundi adequately.

While the efforts exerted by Burundi are to be hailed, complementary action by the international community will no doubt help to alleviate Burundi's heavy burden. The two draft resolutions before us strongly appeal to all Member States and the international community, together with intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, to respond positively to the urgent needs of Burundi. It is the fervent hope of the African Group that the two draft resolutions will, like last year, be adopted by consensus without a vote, especially draft resolution A/50/L.58, which has been revised and accepted by the European Union and will be circulated soon.

Moreover, I would like to add Cuba and India to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/50/L.58 and India to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/50/L.59.

The Acting President: I should like to propose that, if there is no objection, the list of speakers in the debate on these items be closed today at 6.15 p.m.

It was so decided.

The Acting President: I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible.

Mr. Térence Nsanze (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Burundi is honoured to take part in the debate on the draft resolutions on, respectively, "Special emergency assistance" and "The situation in Burundi".

Burundi has been in the throes of a crisis for more than two years. The crisis erupted after the tragic assassination of President Melchior Ndadaye and worsened following the massacres that took tens of thousands of human lives. It is characterized by contradictory trends: sometimes it seems to be moving towards a satisfactory conclusion, and sometimes new developments emerge that threaten what has been achieved.

We should mention in particular, as examples, the major partners and the most committed actors in the quest to attain the threefold noble objective in Burundi: peace, stability and socio-economic development.

The United Nations has played a major and multifaceted role through its main and subsidiary bodies over the past 12 months.

The General Assembly, in accordance with its political primacy, drew up, through its successive resolutions of 25 October and 2 December 1994, a comprehensive programme for Burundi. It assigns to many United Nations bodies complementary missions and urges Member States and economic and humanitarian intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to mobilize various resources for our country.

Twice in six months, the Security Council has shown its concern for the salvation of Burundi by sending two special delegations. This initiative is in line with the very rare innovations introduced by that body, which Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations entrusts with the primary mission: international peace and security. Indeed, the visits made to our country by two groups of Security Council ambassadors deviate from the usual practice of that body: staying at its headquarters, far from the real situations in regions of armed and political conflicts. On the occasions of those visits, the political protagonists in Burundi made known to the Security Council envoys their version of events and their positions.

Beginning with United Nations Headquarters and then in Burundi itself, initiatives have been taken under the auspices, or at the initiative, of the Secretary-General.

Thanks to his remarkable wisdom, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Ahmedou Ould Abdallah, was able to bring to Burundi from abroad internationally renowned political personalities, and to ensure that foreign countries would issue invitations to many Burundi leaders and high-level officials, both military and civilian. His departure from Burundi is unanimously regretted. The Secretary-General must now find the rare individual to succeed him. Indeed, the complexity of the mission requires genuine cooperation between the authorized representatives of the Government of Burundi and the Secretary-General, so that his proposal can receive unanimous support from all the political families that have a say in the matter. The Secretary-General's very relevant appeal from Bujumbura rightly had a specific goal: to alert the international community to the urgent need to speed up and increase economic and financial support for Burundi, and to alert the country's leadership to its priority obligation to do its utmost to establish conditions of peace for all.

In their respective spheres, several subsidiary organs of the United Nations — the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the High Commissioner for Human Rights (HCHR) — have translated into concrete actions the principles underlying their missions. They have supported our country in many important ways, in accordance with their respective callings, in spite of the fact that their resources are shrinking while the beneficiaries' needs have increased considerably. This was quite relevantly emphasized by the Secretary-General yesterday during the inauguration of the International Year for the Eradication of Poverty.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) also has been deploying intense efforts. Since the conflict broke out, the Heads of State of Egypt, Tunisia and Ethiopia in succession have charted courses for Africa. Acting in accordance with their noble mandate, they have set in motion the entire political and human apparatus of the pan-African organization in order to defuse the crisis in Burundi. Their initiatives have been taken within the framework of conferences and meetings at all levels, primarily within the central organ specifically designed to resolve conflicts, through the dispatch of numerous delegations consisting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the Secretary General of the OAU and ambassadors. The international observer mission to Burundi, under the auspices of the OAU and under the leadership of Ambassador Léandre Basole, a clearsighted and efficient person, has witnessed the intrigues of the political class and of the security forces.

None of the players on the African scene could compete with the Secretary General of the OAU. Highly aware that the primary role in conflict settlement in Africa naturally falls to the OAU, in accordance with its charter and Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim has broken all records in his tireless efforts to restore peace and security in Burundi.

As regards the interest shown by the European Union in the attainment of peace in Burundi, we should make these points:

Following the rules of history and the appeals of ***realpolitik***, the member States of the European Union have truly shown their determination to spare Burundi the trials and tribulations of a civil war. Both individually and collectively, the 15 European countries have sent various missions to our country — both at the ministerial level and at the level of ambassadors and high-level envoys. Other delegations have gone to Burundi, sent by regional and international organizations which are related to or associated with the European Union, such as the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (APC), the Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation (ACCT) and the Conference of French-speaking Countries. The Carcassonne Declaration on Burundi of March 1995, adopted under the leadership of France, is one of the most realistic in the position it took with regard to the people and Government of Burundi.

Concerning the absolute need for Burundians to work for their own salvation, we note that the fact that so many political, economic and humanitarian organizations and so many prestigious foreign individuals have come to our country might lead Burundians to give in to the temptation of thinking that they are the centre of the world. Instead of deluding themselves with this vain illusion, the seasoned politicians should understand the true nature of the arrival in our country of these many messengers of peace.

In fact, the extreme seriousness of the danger involved and the extreme importance of the stakes dictate the political and diplomatic to-ing and fro-ing and the increasing assistance by international organizations such as the United Nations, by continental organizations such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the European Union, and by eminent political and humanitarian personalities, such as His Holiness John Paul II, Presidents Julius Nyerere and Jimmy Carter, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and special envoys from the United States, French, Belgian, German, Norwegian, Dutch, Swedish, Canadian, Spanish, Italian and other Governments.

It is indispensable for the Burundians themselves in political and economic spheres, in religious circles, in civil society, young patriots and students — in a word, the national elite — to truly gauge, like the international community, the disastrous consequences of the common danger which hang over them and to work together urgently to find their salvation. It would be to the advantage of all these socio-professional categories — facing the same fate and motivated by the same noble impulse — to lose their illusions, because the international community judges with the same severity the Hutu and the Tutsi leaders, the UPRONA and the FRODEBU, as well as the younger parties, for their collective powerlessness to do away with the chronic ailment which is eating away at our nation. All of them are in the same boat; all of them have every interest in courageously coping with the harsh reality that support from the outside world not only will not go on forever but is beginning to decrease, and we now see on the horizon the possibility that Burundi will be left to its own fate. With this in view, it is certain that no *deus ex machina* will emerge to replace the role which naturally and necessarily falls to the Burundians themselves. Working within this world forum, the United Nations system, a pre-eminent observer of the intentions and desires of States and donor organizations, my delegation has noted with its own ears and eyes their indifference and their growing powerlessness *vis-à-vis* situations such as that of Burundi. I can refer, in this regard, to the statement just made by the Secretary-General on the eradication of poverty, which shows that assistance from abroad is gradually drying up. In such circumstances, there is a proverb which is worth its weight in gold: "A word to the wise is sufficient."

Some important, even historic, achievements fortunately show that many political leaders are inclined to act to throw a lifeline to the nation. For example, negotiations between the eight Burundi opposition parties and the *Mouvance presidentielle*, made up of four groups, led to the conclusion of the Convention on Governance.

This Convention, designed to govern the Burundian State during a transition period, establishes a democratic system by which power-sharing among the political parties and those who represent the national communities is to be assured. On a world scale, the Convention on Governance has met with unanimity. It is hailed and strongly supported by the entire United Nations system, by the major organs such as the General Assembly and the Security Council, and also by the subsidiary bodies such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), up to and including specialized agencies of the United Nations, especially the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), and the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund; the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the European Union; and influential international political bodies that are aware of the national needs of Burundi.

This universal rallying to this multipartite Convention at the present time stems from its crucial value, which has led many outstanding international individuals to call it a "political bible". Its relevance and its timeliness are so greatly appreciated that other political regimes in the world, especially in Africa, have tended to model themselves on it, with changes required by specific needs. Unlike the unanimous support from abroad for this governance agreement concluded in September 1994, some Burundians take pleasure in criticizing it and throwing darts at the 12 parties, representing almost all of the political strata, which signed it. Because of the socio-political imperatives during the transition period, as long as there is no national debate that leads to another system, opposition to the Convention is only an old warhorse, a convenient shortcut to attempt to offset the advantages which it offers to all and which some would deliberately deprive themselves of, without proposing valid or viable alternatives.

On the subject of the coalition Government, it must be noted that having been formed contrary to the rules stipulated in the Convention on Governance and having acted in ways detrimental to general policy advocated in the Convention, the Kanyenkiko Government gave way to the Nduwayo Government in March 1995. The ministerial reshuffling which took place last October was designed to achieve a more solid governmental team — one which would be more prepared to work for the same national cause by applying the general peace, security and development programme laid down in the multipartite Convention for the Head of State and his Government.

Concerning the International Commission of Judicial Inquiry, it should be noted that, managing to transcend their habitual antagonism, the two political families which signed the Convention on Governance have agreed to have recourse to an International Commission of Judicial Inquiry to investigate the assassination of the Burundian Head of State in October 1993 and the large-scale massacres perpetrated following that event.

Acceding to the joint request of the two "political camps" parties to the Convention on Governance, communicated to the United Nations Secretary-General by the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister, the Security Council, by its resolution 1012 (1995) of 28 August 1995, decided to create the international commission. This body is already in operation, and the Government of Burundi and all competent national institutions are vying with each other to provide it with the resources and services deemed necessary to the success of its mission.

My fifth point concerns stumbling-blocks on the road to peace and economic recovery in Burundi. The coalition Government's impressive efforts to rectify the national economy have come up against a number of serious obstacles.

First, public finances are seriously compromised by the taking of security measures against the terrorists who, stopped short by the rampart formed by people wedded to peace and suffering stinging defeats at the hands of the Army of Burundi, are engaging in vandalism against social, economic, industrial and other infrastructures. Tens of thousands of refugees who need to be repatriated are present in Burundi, together with survivors and displaced persons who need to be resettled or helped in their current reception centres, totalling hundreds of thousands of unfortunate people.

Massive financial resources and quantities of equipment are absolutely necessary if this dual objective is to be realized. To obtain funds and other resources on the requisite scale, our Government has no opt but to turn to the coalition of the international community - at the level of States and of intergovernmental and humanitarian organizations - which represents a source of salvation for those repatriated and for the survivors and displaced persons who will be the beneficiaries.

That the policy of Burundi focuses on the voluntary repatriation of refugees and the reintegration of displaced persons into society is demonstrated by the country's participation in the preparation and organization of the Cairo summit on the Great Lakes region and by its being a party to the Declaration that resulted from that conference.

I wish now to refer to the paradoxical conditionality of assistance for Burundi.

Normally donors, at the level of Governments or 30 international organizations, tie their aid to certain conditions in the case of political regimes that notoriously violate human rights, give rise to grave difficulties for their countries or are guilty of civil war against their peoples. None of these sins can be attributed to the Government which emerged from the two "political families" that signed the Convention. However, a number of Governments and international organizations have no scruples about making their assistance to our country subject to conditions. In accordance with this new policy, their economic and financial intervention will be granted only as a kind of "peace bonus".

This requirement is being made increasingly plain by the parcelling out of assistance to Burundi in small doses, by the growing parsimony and even stinginess of our traditional partners and especially by the refusal to enter into commitments at the recent meeting of the Friends of Burundi held in Bujumbura and the unwillingness to organize and schedule the round table on external assistance for Burundi. In this specific case, the still-sporadic insecurity is the grievous work of terrorists, who are keeping the population hostage by forcing it to act as their human shield.

There is a regrettable and obvious contradiction inherent in the action of the donors that are tying their economic and financial assistance to conditions. Such a threat, if it were to materialize, would benefit those who favour a scorched-earth policy, would encourage them to intensify their misdeeds and would punish the coalition Government and the overwhelming majority of the people of Burundi, who are united in their valiant crusade against terror.

I wish, finally, to refer to radio programmes on genocide.

The Great Lakes region has been poisoned by clandestine "radio programmes" disseminated by champions of neo-Naziism. Disavowed by almost all the people of Burundi for their incitement to pogroms, some tiny groups, assembled in an unholy alliance, have embraced the sordid mission of genocide as an absolute prerequisite for the assumption of power. Since there is a risk that the ignominious role which the Mille Collines Radio/Television station played in the Rwandan holocaust will be replayed by its soul mate in Burundi, the President and the Prime Minister of Burundi wrote to the Secretary-General over two months ago asking him to help, by the most appropriate means, to dismantle that radio station dedicated to genocide.

The two draft resolutions — they are entitled "Special emergency assistance for the economic recovery and reconstruction of Burundi" and the one under the agenda item "The situation in Burundi" — deal specifically with the reality reflected in what I have just been saying. Essentially identical to the two resolutions adopted, without a vote, at the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly, these two texts take into account current developments in Burundi and reiterate our coalition Government's appeal to the General Assembly for increased economic, financial and material resources and for political and diplomatic contributions more suited to reality in Burundi.

As a direct follow-up to the report of the Secretary-General — document A/50/541 of 11 October 1995 — and with a view to abiding by the noble ideals and objectives of the Charter, the States members of this Assembly will be paying Burundi a signal honour if they adopt these two draft resolutions by consensus. Some amendments have been submitted by States members of the European Union and, following negotiations, those States no longer have objections, as was pointed out by our colleague who is chairing the Group of African States this month.

We shall be grateful to all States if, having seen the additional texts, they are so kind as to adopt the draft resolutions by consensus.

Mr. Eteffa (Ethiopia): The situation in Burundi remains a matter of serious concern. Efforts made at the national, regional and international levels have not yet resulted in the restoration of peace and stability in Burundi. The report of the Secretary- General (A/50/541), submitted at the current session of the General Assembly, indicates that the situation in Burundi is, indeed, precarious.

In this respect, while the conclusion of the Convention on Governance in September 1994 and the formation of the coalition Government in March 1995 represent important steps in the right direction, we note with great concern that the situation in Burundi remains precarious and potentially explosive. Incidents of organized violence, indiscriminate attack and massacre of civilians, incitement of the people to violence through spreading messages of hatred and the proliferation of militias with huge arsenals of weapons continue to pose serious challenges to peace and stability in Burundi. The circumstances now prevailing in Burundi vividly indicate that unless swift and concerted action is taken, the cycle of violence will eventually degenerate into a civil war with catastrophic consequences to Burundi and the region as a whole.

While much more is expected from the rest of the international community in assisting Burundi to regain peace and stability, it is also legitimate on the part of all concerned to inquire what Africa is doing to resolve the problem in Burundi. We are also entitled to know and to appreciate the efforts that the people and the Government of Burundi are making to bring about peace and national reconciliation to their country.

The situation in Burundi is one of the major areas of concern to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and to its member States. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU discussed the situation in Burundi at its thirty-first ordinary session, held in Addis Ababa, from 20 to 28 June 1995, and mandated its current Chairman, the Prime Minister of Ethiopia, His Excellency Mr. Meles Zenawi and the Secretary General of the OAU, His Excellency Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim to convene, as a matter of urgency, a meeting of Burundi's political and military leaders at Addis Ababa to discuss the future of their country.

Accordingly, the Secretary-General of the OAU dispatched a mission to Bujumbura in July 1995, while a delegation of the OAU, led by a special envoy of the current Chairman of the OAU, also visited the Great Lakes region in August 1995 for consultations with leaders of the neighbouring countries and Burundi.

The third extraordinary session of the OAU Central Organ, held at the Ministerial level on 11 September 1995 in Addis Ababa, considered the report of the special envoy of the current Chairman of the OAU, and assessed the prevailing situation in Burundi. After listening to the statements and submissions by the Prime Minister of Burundi and by the representatives of the Great Lakes region, and after a thorough exchange of views on the matter, the Central Organ issued a communiqué which, *inter alia*:

> "endorsed the calls made for the convening of an international conference on peace and security in the

> Great Lakes region. The Central Organ requested the Secretary-General of the OAU to work very closely with the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the convening of this crucial conference after adequate preparations had been made to ensure its success".

We fully share the views expressed in the report of the Secretary-General, which is before us, that the United Nations and the OAU have a special role to play in facilitating the coordinating and the convening of the proposed international conference. Needless to say, the success of such a conference requires the full cooperation of all concerned parties.

African countries, including my own, are committed to doing their share in the international endeavour to help bring peace to Burundi. Africa's resolve and commitment in this regard, has been demonstrated in a number of ways, including its deployment and maintenance of an OAU Observer Mission in Burundi (OMIB). Despite its limitation in size and resources, the observer mission in Burundi has been playing a vital role in confidence-building.

In order to attain the desired result, the regional endeavour requires substantial international support and assistance. The complexity and magnitude of the problem in Burundi makes it absolutely necessary for the United Nations and the OAU to closely coordinate their actions. The envisaged regional conference should address the diverse but interlinked issues. The prevailing political, economic, humanitarian and security problems must be tackled in a comprehensive manner, with a view to achieving a durable and just solution to the conflicts in Burundi and thereby helping to dissipate the negative effects on the neighbouring countries in particular and the region as a whole. The OAU's effort to bring together conflicting parties in Burundi to start a serious dialogue needs the total support and backing of the United Nations. The modalities of implementing the Convention on Governance, which the Burundi parties willingly signed in September 1994, should be a focus of attention, as it represents the most viable and widely acceptable formula that can bring about political reconciliation in Burundi.

The repatriation and integration of refugees and displaced persons would, no doubt, entail the availability of resources in the implementation process. The international community is therefore called upon to commit itself to making the necessary resources available.

In order to come up with realistic and achievable recommendations, the magnitude of the refugee problem should be put in its proper perspective. In this regard, the emphasis should be on assisting the countries of the Great Lakes region to implement the Bujumbura plan of action, which was jointly drawn up by the OAU and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which addresses the issue in a global context.

It goes without saying that the people and the Government of Burundi must assume the ultimate responsibility to bring about national reconciliation, peace and stability to their country through political dialogue and mutual accommodation, and the international community must assist them to do so. Extremism and violence should have no place and must be rejected by all. All parties should rule out violence as a means of resolving conflicts. In this connection, the international community should play a meaningful role, helping to ensure national reconciliation, peace and stability in Burundi.

Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia) *(interpretation from French)*: The situation in Burundi today requires the international community to pursue its efforts to overcome the difficulties which continue to hamper the return to normalcy in that country.

We welcome the fact that almost all of the political parties in Burundi have reaffirmed their commitment to the spirit of the 1994 Convention on Governance, which is the basis for national reconciliation in Burundi. We encourage all the parties to maintain this commitment by working towards the consolidation of peace and by emphasizing dialogue to solve the problems. The efforts towards this end exerted by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Burundi should be supported.

It is essential for the Government and for the civil society to continue to work together to hold in check all of the extremists attempting to obstruct normalization of the situation.

The decision of the Security Council to establish an International Commission of Inquiry to ascertain the facts surrounding the assassination of the President of Burundi on 21 October 1993, as well as the massacres and other acts of violence which followed, is a necessary measure to prevent any further acts of violence and to end the impunity which the criminals have enjoyed so far, as well as to promote national reconciliation.

The deployment throughout the country, with the consent of the local government, of human rights observers is yet another way to halt, or at least curb, acts of violence.

In this context, it is essential to put an end to the activities of the pirate radio station which has been transmitting messages inciting people to hatred and encouraging violence. The case of Radio "Mille Collines", which greatly contributed to the exacerbation of hatred among the Rwandan people, must be kept in mind and should lead us to take the necessary measures to avoid the same effects in Burundi.

I cannot fail to mention here the important role of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which has continued to work to ensure Rwanda's stability and to promote national reconciliation. Thus, African military observers have been sent to Burundi, thereby proving the determination of the countries of the continent to place the greatest importance on preventive action in Africa and to participate effectively in the international community's efforts to prevent conflicts and maintain and restore peace.

This determination was reaffirmed when the Central Organ of the Organization of African Unity Mechanism for Conflict Control, Management and Resolution in Africa, which met in Tunis at the level of Heads of State last April, resolved to increase the number of personnel serving in the OAU Observer Mission and to strengthen the means available to its civilian component.

Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity is of great importance in this respect and should be further strengthened. We take this opportunity to commend the activities that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General continues to carry out in Burundi, in cooperation with the OAU.

For its part, Tunisia, which is participating with the military observers in the OAU mission, will continue to support the efforts for national reconciliation in Burundi and stands ready to continue to participate in this mission so long as the Burundi people wish it to do so.

We feel that the process of national reconciliation in Burundi would be strengthened if an appropriate economic and social environment were established to enable the Government to meet the basic needs of the people. In fact, the consolidation of peace in the country is today a priority which is an integral part of efforts aimed at conflict prevention and the restoration of peace.

Without continued support from the international community in rebuilding the infrastructure and institutions devastated by the civil war, it will be difficult to avoid tensions caused by social want and frustration, which could be exploited by extremists in order to plunge the country into chaos and insecurity once again.

The running of governmental institutions and other sectors of public life today require increased assistance from donors in order to lay a solid basis for national reconciliation and to ensure the optimum use of national institutions and organs.

In this context, I would draw the Assembly's attention to the problem of refugees and displaced persons in the interior of the country. They are a constant source of concern and instability throughout the Great Lakes region. Aware of the adverse impact of this scourge, the international community committed itself, on the OAU's initiative, to the holding of a Regional Conference on Assistance to Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in the Great Lakes Region. The holding of this conference in Bujumbura in February 1995, led to the adoption of a programme of action for the voluntary repatriation of refugees and the return of displaced persons to their homes, with the humanitarian assistance of the international community.

However, the follow-up committee for this programme of action noted at its meeting last May that very little progress had been made in implementing the programme. The international community must increase its assistance if the Bujumbura conference is to be fully effective.

Moreover, we feel that it is important to tackle the situation in the Great Lakes region by adopting a comprehensive, integrated approach in considering the problems faced by that region. To that end, Tunisia supports the holding of a regional conference on peace, security and development in the Great Lakes region.

Finally, we feel that the success of any international action for the Burundi people remain dependent on the determination of the Burundi people themselves to see the national reconciliation process succeed. We are convinced that they will spare no effort to achieve this objective. Stability and security in their country and in the Great Lakes region as a whole depend on this.

Mr. Zulueta (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union.

Since the assassination of the first democratically elected President of Burundi in October 1993, the European Union has been working with others for a peaceful return to democracy and for national reconciliation in Burundi.

The European Union set out its objectives and priorities with regard to the situation in Burundi in its statement of 19 March 1995 at Carcassonne and in the common position it adopted on 24 March 1995. It has declared itself ready to assist the Government of Burundi to organize a national debate with the participation of all components of the nation of Burundi, in order to consolidate national reconciliation and rebuild democracy. The European Union is also ready to contribute to the dispatch of human rights observers of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. The European Union is providing assistance to the judicial system of Burundi and is contributing to the implementation of the programme of action adopted by the Regional Conference on Assistance to Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in the Great Lakes Region, held at Bujumbura from 15 to 17 February 1995.

We believe that the presence of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) observer mission has made a valuable contribution to efforts to prevent a worsening of the crisis. We call on the OAU to remain positively engaged in efforts to promote preventive diplomacy in Burundi. In this regard, the European Union is contributing to the financing of observers on the ground from the Organization of African Unity.

The European Union sent a special mission of the Presidency and the Commission to Burundi on 10 and 11 February 1995, and a ministerial troika mission went to Bujumbura on 24 March 1995. A further troika mission was undertaken in September 1995. All these visits underline the importance the Union attaches to the situation in Burundi and our determination to contribute to a peaceful outcome of the crisis in that country.

We are concerned at the proliferation of acts of violence and the destabilizing activities of extremists on all sides, as well as those undertaken by radio stations which incite hatred and encourage acts of genocide. We vigorously condemn such acts and deplore the number of victims. We furthermore believe that it is essential to identify and dismantle the "hatred" radio stations.

The European Union reaffirms that the situation can return to normal only if there is respect, and support from all sections of the population, for the Convention on Governance of 10 September 1994, establishing the conditions for power-sharing, as pointed out by the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister in their joint statement of 30 March 1995.

The European Union commends the efforts of the leaders of the country — in particular the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister — to restore confidence, as well as the resolute action by the Special Representatives of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

In this regard, we wish to pay particular tribute to Mr. Ould Abdallah for his work in Burundi since the start of the crisis as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. Through his diplomatic skills, he has contributed greatly to the containment of the conflict in Burundi, and has helped the political actors in their efforts to secure national reconciliation. The European Union considers that the presence in Bujumbura of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General is essential to the fulfilment of the task of preventive diplomacy entrusted to the United Nations. He is a key figure in assisting Burundi until the end of the period established for the expiration of the Convention on Governance and the scheduled date for the presidential and legislative elections of 9 June 1998.

We call on the Secretary-General to appoint as soon as possible a Special Representative for Burundi, who must be provided with the necessary means and personnel to prepare and usher in the next political stages in Burundi and in particular to promote the national debate. We stress the need to continue efforts to reinforce the role of the forces of moderation, exclude extremists, strengthen democratic institutions and engage in active diplomacy to promote peace in Burundi through the implementation of the Convention on Governance.

The European Union welcomes the establishment by the Secretary-General of an International Commission of Inquiry in Burundi, in accordance with Security Council resolution 1012 (1995). We attach particular importance to its mandate to ascertain the facts surrounding the assassination of the President of Burundi on 21 October 1993, the massacres and other related serious acts of violence which followed; to recommend legal, political or administrative measures, and measures to bring to justice persons responsible for those acts; to prevent any repetition of deeds similar to those investigated by the Commission; and, in general, to eradicate impunity and promote national reconciliation in Burundi.

We support the efforts of the Commission of Inquiry and look forward to its report, which we trust will assist in the process of true and genuine national reconciliation in Burundi. The culture of impunity must be eradicated in order to enable the society of Burundi as a whole to strengthen the democratic process in a climate of peace and development.

The European Union appreciates the efforts of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to promote and protect human rights in Burundi, in particular by setting up an office of the Centre for Human Rights and by mobilizing international cooperation in the quest for peace and security in Burundi. In this regard, we are convinced of the need to increase preventive action in Burundi without delay, in particular through the presence of human rights experts and through human rights training programmes and, when the conditions are appropriate, the presence of observers throughout the country.

The European Union has taken note of the Declaration adopted in Cairo on 29 November 1995 by the Heads of State of the Great Lakes region of Central Africa. The Declaration provides for a series of measures which will help to reduce tension and to find solutions to the substantial problems of the region. We call on the States that signed the Cairo Declaration to abide by their commitments. We hope that the international community, in particular the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, can be brought into this process at a later stage. In this regard, we attach particular importance to the early convening of a regional conference on security, stability and development in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the collaboration of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). We encourage the Secretary-General to continue his contacts with the aim of convening the conference. Lasting solutions to the long-term problems of the region can be found only with the political will and cooperation of the countries of the region, assisted by the concerted efforts of the international community.

Mr. Florencio (Brazil): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States.

Our region is fully supportive of the United Nations role in the field of humanitarian and emergency assistance, guided by the principles contained in resolution 46/162.

In this context, we welcome the two draft resolutions submitted by the Chairman of the African Group, which refer respectively to the situation in Burundi and to special emergency assistance for the economic recovery and reconstruction of Burundi. Such texts are very positive elements in our efforts to promote peace and economic recovery and to improve the human-rights situation in the Great Lakes region.

As the report of the Secretary-General emphasizes, Burundi faces a profound crisis, which has led the country into economic recession and into persistent financial deficits. This situation has been aggravated by the heavy burden of the combined phenomena of refugees and displaced persons who are being repatriated and resettled, making it virtually impossible for the country to overcome its problems without the economic and financial assistance of the international community.

We join the Chairman of the African Group as well as the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity in stressing the special importance of the Convention on Governance signed on 10 September 1994 by four parties of the *Force du changement* and the eight Burundi opposition political parties. We also subscribe fully to their outright condemnation of terrorist actions aimed at subverting the full and impartial implementation of this instrument by all parties.

Finally, I would like to emphasize that lasting peace is achievable only through sustained efforts to resolve underlying socio-economic problems. In this context, the implementation of international commitments in the field of development, such as the Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries, can provide a solid foundation for peace in the Great Lakes region.

Mr. Dejammet (France) (*interpretation from French*): For more than two years — indeed, since the assassination of President Ndadaye — Burundi has been experiencing difficulties. There are significant risks of that country's destabilization. They have been compounded by the tragic events which occurred in Rwanda and which we do not wish to see repeated in neighbouring countries.

All those reasons have prompted France to give special attention to Burundi since 1993. We have noted that significant progress has been made in the country thanks to the loyal forces that have enabled it to escape dangerous upheavals.

The signing of the Convention on Governance on 10 September 1994 and the subsequent establishment of a coalition Government on 1 March 1995, have been important steps that have enabled institutions in Burundi to overcome the crisis.

Notwithstanding the efforts made by the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister to ensure a return to normalcy, violence in Burundi has, unfortunately, continued to increase, and today extremists are once against threatening the stability of the country.

We therefore call upon all the parties signatories to the Convention on Governance to condemn as strongly as possible such attempts at destabilization and not to allow themselves to be tempted by all kinds of centrifugal forces that are trying to bring about the breakdown of Burundian society, in particular through radio transmissions inciting to violence and killing.

Here we should like to hail the work that has been performed in the field for nearly two years by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Ould Abdallah. Indeed, Mr. Abdallah has demonstrated that the United Nations can play a decisive moderating role in the country. We therefore hope that the Secretary-General will appoint a successor as soon as possible so that the Organization's action in the region can continue without interruption.

The European Union, as the Spanish presidency has just pointed out, has on several occasions had an opportunity to reaffirm its dedication to the consolidation of democracy in Burundi. On numerous occasions, and in particular in the Carcassonne Declaration of 19 March 1995 and the common position of 24 March, it has called for the national reconciliation of all the citizens of Burundi and for the eventual organization of a national debate that would bring together all the forces in Burundi. We hope that those goals will be met as quickly as possible.

The French Government, indeed, deems it important that Burundi emerge from the crisis as quickly as possible so that all of its citizens can re-enter the path of progress and development.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation supports the draft resolutions on, respectively, the situation in Burundi and special emergency assistance for the economic recovery and reconstruction of Burundi. These two draft resolution are necessary and important to support the efforts being made by the Government and people of Burundi. They will lead to a strengthening of the Convention on Governance concluded in September 1994 among the parties known as the "Forces de changement démocratique" and those of the Burundi opposition. The Convention is the required basis for the establishment of institutions accepted by all the citizens of Burundi.

My delegation also supports this draft resolution, which requests the States Members of the United Nations and international organizations to make rapidly available to the Government of Burundi all technical resources capable of silencing and dismantling the poisonous propaganda of the pirate radio that is sowing the seeds of genocide among the population of Burundi and of the Great Lakes region. On this subject, it will be recalled that in Rwanda in 1994 this type of radio mobilized the murderers who wrought genocide at a cost of over a million Rwandese lives.

Indeed, the same methods that were used in Rwanda, such as radio propaganda, are being used in Burundi. The same people who committed crimes in Rwanda are providing their technical and military assistance to genocide in Burundi. The same countries that gave political, financial and military support to the Rwandese criminals are now helping the criminals in Burundi.

As is well known, if we wish to cure the disease of impunity in the Great Lakes region, we must tear up the evil by its roots. Impunity must be cured not by treating its symptoms but by attacking the causes of the disease. This draft resolution condemns the criminal activities being committed in the region and urges constructive negotiations.

The impunity that the international community is currently promoting is in itself a threat to the region. My delegation recognizes above all that Burundi is a link in the chain of countries of the Great Lakes region and cannot be separated from that chain. Hence, the problems of that country cannot be solved without taking account of what is occurring in the other countries of the subregion.

In contrast to the other subregions of Africa, the Great Lakes countries have been experiencing a culture of impunity that has been institutionalized to the detriment of the people. It is in that context that Burundi has established a whole set of institutions, organizations and conventions and a judiciary system to ensure the proper functioning of Burundi society. That is why my delegation calls on the United Nations and the international community to support all these Burundi institutions, which are in need of this help.

To conclude, I would recall yet again that justice and development are key elements for peace and security throughout the world. Peace and stability in the Great Lakes region, particularly in Burundi and Rwanda, cannot be ensured without ensuring the economic development of those countries. This rule is not particular to Africa; it is universal. A Marshall Plan for Burundi and Rwanda is possible and feasible; it is necessary and indispensable to the recovery of those countries. We are speaking here not of humanitarian assistance, but rather of economic cooperation.

The type of cooperation that has evolved in the Great Lakes region will need to be changed. There has been more cooperation on weaponry — that is, on destructive power — than in the realm of development. This situation holds true not only for Burundi and Rwanda, but for other African countries as well. My country recognizes the right of any country, organization or company to sell arms to any State or to lend it military assistance, but we repudiate the use of such arms to violate human rights.

Nevertheless, we appeal once again to those countries that export arms to Africa to export computers and tractors instead. The countries of the Great Lakes region, such as Burundi, would thereby become economically sound and politically stable partners.

Mr. Pedroso Cuesta (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As a member of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, Cuba supports the statement made by the representative of Brazil on behalf of the Group.

Today, in discussing the item of special emergency assistance for the economic recovery and reconstruction of Burundi, we need once again to call the international community's attention to the ongoing deterioration of the economic situation in Burundi brought on by the tragic events in that country in late 1993. Moreover, the combined effects of the great number of refugees and people displaced by other political conflicts in the region have also been aggravating factors in the situation and have considerably reduced the coalition Government's ability to achieve the aims of the programme to stabilize the country politically and economically.

In this context, we note with deep concern that the great efforts of the coalition Government to normalize the political situation in the country are still not supported by an adequate level of international assistance. Unless the international community's commitment to providing emergency assistance to Burundi is reflected in a significant increase in the present levels of assistance, the hopes for establishing the bases for lasting political stability will remain uncertain or, at the very least, will not be realized soon.

Burundi's structural problems of underdevelopment and economic backwardness are additional elements of instability. It is the international community's unshirkable responsibility to address those problems. That is why my delegation has become a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/50/L.58 and urges the international community to provide the greatest possible support for the economic recovery and reconstruction of Burundi and to rapidly eliminate any obstacles in the way of providing such assistance.

Mr. Wang Xuexian (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The question of Burundi has been under discussion in the General Assembly for three years now. At present, the political situation in Burundi remains precarious. This is detrimental not only to the economic recovery and reconstruction of the country, but also to peace and stability in the Great Lakes region. The Chinese Government is also very concerned about the current political, security and humanitarian situation in Burundi and hopes that the parties concerned will build mutual trust through consultations and negotiations so as to restore stability and achieve national reconciliation as soon as possible.

The international community, particularly the United Nations and the relevant regional organizations, has made tremendous efforts to normalize the situation in Burundi and to promote Burundi's economic development. We have noted from the Secretary-General's report that his Special Representative has worked very hard through constant contact with all the parties concerned. The Security Council has dispatched two fact-finding missions to Burundi to study the situation there and promote national reconciliation. The Council has also been regularly briefed on developments in Burundi and has issued presidential statements deploring the violence and calling on the parties to enter into consultations and negotiations.

We have also noted that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has also taken a number of political and diplomatic initiatives to prevent the worsening of the situation in Burundi. The Chinese Government appreciates and supports the efforts made by the OAU and the international community at large.

The precarious situation in the Great Lakes region has resulted in a large increase in the number of refugees in the region, which has not only put great pressure on the countries concerned, including Burundi, but has also constituted an important factor for instability in the region. Therefore, the international community, including the United Nations, has the responsibility to make further efforts to resolve this problem by providing assistance and creating conditions for the safe return of refugees.

The Chinese delegation has taken an active part in the efforts of the United Nations on the question of Burundi and has participated in the consideration of this question; we shall continue to do so.

I take this opportunity finally to say that the Chinese delegation will join in sponsoring draft resolution A/50/L.58.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): My delegation is particularly delighted to contribute to the consideration of agenda items 20 (b), entitled "Strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian and disaster relief assistance of the United Nations, including special economic assistance: Special economic assistance to individual countries or regions", and 26, entitled "The situation in Burundi". In this context we wish to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report of 11 October 1995 (A/50/541) on special emergency assistance for the economic recovery and reconstruction of Burundi.

My delegation would wish to state in particular that although the General Assembly, in resolution 49/7, requested Member States, the bodies of the United Nations system and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations *inter alia* to provide Burundians with assistance in the reconstruction of the country and emergency assistance for its social and economic recovery, the revitalization of the economy and the resumption of development, that country still needs the continued assistance and support of the international community.

As an African country, Nigeria remains concerned at the predicament of Burundi and its people, and my country is committed to see the country pull itself out of its present difficulties with a view to strengthening its national capacity among the countries of the Great Lakes region in particular and in the African continent as a whole. It is in this context that Nigeria has followed with keen interest the activities of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in collaboration with the international community for the purpose of pursuing intensive political and diplomatic efforts to prevent further instability and civil strife in Burundi.

We in Nigeria understand the urgency of these needs, because we have been privileged to serve as Chairman of two Security Council special missions to Burundi to help contribute to the solution of the potential conflict there. We therefore commend the work of the special representatives of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and of the Secretary-General of the OAU, His Excellency Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, in this regard.

The Nigerian delegation would like to bring to the attention of the Assembly the volatile and unstable situation caused by the presence in the Great Lakes region of about 2 million to 5 million refugees, many of whom are armed, in various camps. In addition to the problem of refugees we also have in the Great Lakes region the difficulties of security guarantees and the issue of facilitating the repatriation of displaced persons to their countries of origin or to other countries where they would prefer to live in peace and security.

In order to facilitate and ensure the durable economic recovery and reconstruction of Burundi, there is need to highlight the issues raised in the draft resolutions contained in documents A/50/L.58 and A/50/L.59. The international community must urgently provide the necessary resources and technical support for the economic recovery and reconstruction of Burundi. To this end, we wish to recognize and encourage the continued efforts being made by the various agencies of the United Nations system.

The Acting President: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on agenda item 20 (b) as it relates to Burundi and on agenda item 26.

I should like to inform members that action on draft resolutions A/50/L.58 and A/50/L.59 will be taken at a later date this week to be announced.

Programme of work

The Acting President: I should like to clarify for members that on Thursday, 21 December, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up the reports of the Third Committee which have been issued, namely, the reports on agenda item 103 on the elimination of racism and racial discrimination, on agenda item 104 on the right of peoples to self-determination, on agenda item 105 on social development, on agenda item 106 on crime prevention and criminal justice, on agenda item 108 on international drug control, on agenda item 109 on the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, on agenda item 110 on the promotion and protection of the rights of children and on agenda item 111 on the programme of activities of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples.

On Friday, 22 December, in the afternoon, the Assembly will consider the remaining reports of the Third Committee, that is, the reports on agenda item 107 on advancement of women, on agenda item 112 on human-rights questions, on agenda item 165 on the implementation of the outcome of the Fourth World Conference on Women and on agenda item 12 on the report of the Economic and Social Council.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.